Volume XCIV No. 15 July 9, 1971 40 cents

commonweal

THE EDITORS **THE PENTAGON PAPERS**
LAWRENCE T. KING **REAGAN'S PRIVATE WAR**
HENRY TEN KORTENAAR **UNDOING THE COUNCIL**
GERALD WEALES **TESS SLESINGER**
CORRESPONDENCE **COOL INTELLECTUALS**

A-68108 12-71
ST CHARLES SEM LIBRARY
CARTHAGENA STATION
CELINA OH 45822

HAS GOD CURSED THE CITIES?

Harvey Cox Responds To Jacques Ellul

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEWS & VIEWS

Campaign Spending

Sometimes bright ideas, at least at first, barely have to be stated to be persuasive. Such is the proposal by two Chicago lawyers, John R. Schmidt and Wayne W. Whalen, in the June 5 *New Republic*.

Schmidt and Whalen consider the unlikely prospects for legislation limiting expenditures in the '72 campaign, then ask: "Why must the Democratic Party wait for Congress and the President to act? Of course the Democrats could not limit their spending in the '72 *general* election, unless the Republicans are bound by law to do likewise. But what's to prevent them from putting their own limits on *their* spending in the upcoming primaries?"

In 1968, the Democrats spent $25 million in primary races. That is the kind of money that could be saved for the main event. Schmidt and Whalen outline a procedure the party could use for setting reasonable limits.

The plan of Schmidt and Whalen is not beyond faulting. Their proposal might weight the scales in favor of candidates of established identifiability who need no special efforts to get their name before the public. That may explain Sen. Muskie's willingness to explore the idea.

But the implied opposition between the rights of little known candidates and a limit on primary spending could be more theoretical than real. In fact, the candidates most known to the public are usually also the ones with most access to cash, while the new faces, unless personally wealthy, must do without.

The Schmidt-Whalen proposal, like any campaign limits, also could intrude on constitutional guarantees of free speech. But if those difficulties can possibly be resolved, surely a carefully conceived plan could locate a balance point between the need to limit the power of wealth, the need to let unknowns publicize their candidates, and the need to economize for the presidential race itself. The Democrats would be better off in November, 1972—and more democratic in the primaries.

Cornell vs. Wichita

Catholic Peace Fellowship co-chairman Tom Cornell reports after a cross-country trip "a perceptible growth" of the CPF movement and an increased willingness to give CPF "a respectful hearing . . . in even the most conservative places."

But not Wichita.

"There is a Jesuit prep school there," says Cornell, "named for a local man who served as a military chaplain in Korea and has since gone to his reward, a Father Kapaun. Kapaun High is run by an ex-Marine drill sergeant, a Methodist, hired not out of ecumenical zeal but because he is a 'good disciplinarian.'

"When it became known that the student government wanted me to speak at their school, the principal forbade it. The president of the student body, Frank Ryan, resigned in protest, in a letter to the school newspaper.

"The students acquired the use of a Unitarian church for an after-school meeting and organized a carpool to get the kids across town. The principal was furious, threatened to suspend the school paper, cancel graduation, cancel the yearbook, fire the moderator of the student government.

"In fact, the morning of our meeting day, Frank was informed as he entered school that he was expelled. Five students joined him immediately and declared that they too were expelled, as well as the faculty moderator of the student government."

How did things turn out?

The kids prevailed. . . . The principal drew back and negotiated a one-day suspension. The meeting went on, as planned—but at the Unitarian church. "It was one of the best I have ever had," comments Cornell.

Manana is Now

Further underscoring the changed character of the Latin American hierarchy are two stories in a recent Latinamerica Press news packet.

Story I:

CUERNAVACA, Mexico (LP) —True faith is an invitation to maintain a position of "permanent revolution," said Bishop Sergio Mendez Arceo during a sermon here. . . .

An authentic Christian "can't remain indifferent while he sees the powerful, the rich, those who exploit the poor and oppressed and those who are sick, eating while others are starving," said the prelate. . . .

Story II:

CUENCA, Ecuador (LP)— "We cannot be closed to the possibility or the necessity that violence has to be used" regarding the changes to be made in Latin America, said Archbishop Ernesto Alvarez of Cuenca in a television program here.

"The necessary changes in Latin America go very deep" making revolution indispensable, he added. . . .

Meanwhile, Archbishop Marcos McGrath of Panama City warned the Inter-American Catholic Bishops Conference, which includes prelates from U.S. and Canada, that violence in all of Latin America is an "imminent threat." The cause, for the umpteenth time: lack of social and economic development.

When the explosion comes, it's going to be one of the most predicted of history.

New Day Department

Two young Jesuits added something to this year's ordination at Fordham.

Before the event, Anthony Meyer and Joseph O'Rourke distributed leaflets protesting the "war-making" of ordaining prelate Cardinal Cooke.

When it came time during the ceremony to exchange the kiss of peace, Cooke was called upon to resign his "'command" as Military Vicar of the Armed Forces.

"As Military Vicar he heads a chaplaincy which is in the rank and pay of the military," Meyer and O'Rourke said, "and which speaks *its* voice, not Christ's."

Cardinal Cooke took the microphone and said he respected the consciences of the two men, but that he also had a responsibility for the spiritual care of Catholics in the Armed Forces.

The invitation to the kiss of peace was renewed.

O'Rourke joined in the gesture. Meyer declined, holding that in conscience he could not exchange the kiss of peace with one who "has betrayed the Christian meaning of peace."

The ceremony hurried to a nervous conclusion.

Odds and Ends

—How those nice, small, lower-middle-class New England colleges are changing. Commencement at Tufts featured Bella Abzug; at Lowell Tech, Noam Chomsky; at Holy Cross, Socialist Party chairman Mike Harrington.

—*Times* film critic Vincent Canby wasn't particularly put off by the rat packs in *Willard*. "They are no more scary than fat, friendly hamsters," wrote Canby, "except for one or two shots when they are seen by the hundreds—and hundreds of anything might be a scary sight, even hundreds of bishops."

—Together with the Pentagon Papers come the fall book catalogues and Holt, Rinehart's announcement of LBJ's *The Vantage Point, Perspectives on the Presidency 1963-1969*. Its opener [gulp]: "Lyndon Baines Johnson sets the record straight. . . ." JOHN DEEDY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

East Is West

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: Mr. Needleman oversimplifies, in one instance, and in another simply misreads, the article of mine, "Visions of a New Religion," which he cites [Apr. 30]. My intention was certainly not to "weave a case against the new religions," but to try to get at some of the needs and questions which they seem to answer. It is where these are not genuinely religious that I think one often finds the rhetoric of religion without the substance.

As for the misreading, Mr. Needleman writes: "Elsewhere in her article, she admits that her judgments about Eastern religion are those of a superficial observer. . . ." The passage of mine to which this is a reference reads as follows: "The East offers a religious view in which guilt does not play such a central role as in the West—or at least not to the superficial observer." Since I was talking about the appeal of the East to the Western young, it is pretty clear—I would have thought—that although in fact I may be a superficial observer, my reference was to them.

MARCIA CAVELL

'Judas' Priest(s)

South Bend, Ind.

To the Editors: In answer to the letter from "Christian in pilgrimage" [May 27]: we are not your brothers in Holy Orders but we are your brothers in Christ, laymen who know and count as our friends other "judases," although we do not think of you in this term. We know you as men who have been deeply, dreadfully, and cruelly hurt by those who should have represented Christ to you. To you and many other Christians in pilgrimage we can only say that we were also hurt by Pope Paul's Maundy Thursday sermon, because we have known too many men like you, men who we hope will someday be permitted to operate in the public ministry again

(*Continued on page 365*)

NEWS & VIEWS: 346 **CORRESPONDENCE: 347**
EDITORIALS: 347
TRYING TO UNDO THE COUNCIL: *Henry ten Kortenaar* **348**
NOTES ON THE PENTAGON PAPERS: *Peter Steinfels* **350**
THE UNGODLY CITY: *Harvey Cox* **351**
GOVERNOR REAGAN'S PRIVATE WAR: *Lawrence T. King* **358**
THE SCREEN: *Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.* **359**
BOOKS: 360

JAMES O'GARA: *Editor* JOHN DEEDY: *Managing Editor*
PETER STEINFELS: *Associate Editor* ANNE ROBERTSON: *Editorial Assistant*
PHILIP T. HARTUNG, COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.: *Movies* JOHN FANDEL: *Poetry*

EDWARD S. SKILLIN: *Publisher* JOHN BRUBAKER: *Advertising Manager*

COMMONWEAL *A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts.*
Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y.
Printed in the USA and published weekly,
except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and June to mid-September,
by Commonweal Publishing Co., 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016
MUrray Hill 3-2042. *Copyright © 1971 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.*
US and Canada, $12 a year. Foreign $14. Single copies 40¢

THE PENTAGON PAPERS

The publication of material from the "History of U.S. Decision-Making Process in Vietnam"—the original title of what has come to be known as the Pentagon Papers—is a major event. So is the Administration's attempt to obstruct and prevent that publication. At this writing both events are held suspended in the scales of the Supreme Court. And this suspension, too, is a major event: apparently the first "prior restraint" ever imposed on American newspapers.

If the Supreme Court should uphold the Justice Department's case, and thus overrule the lower court judgments that there were no grounds here for prior censorship, or even if the Supreme Court should maintain the restraining order against the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* for any considerable time, we would consider it a terrible blow against the national security, which, as Judge Murray Gurfein ruled in the *Times* case, "also lies in the value of our free institutions." The executive branch's shifting legal arguments, the evidently baseless talk about code-cracking, and the final plea that such matters as ending the war and negotiating at SALT would be adversely affected by publication seem altogether too vague and broad to justify the truly drastic step of prior censorship. How ironical that the government should offer its hopes of ending the war as a basis for censorship, when deception in regard to peace offers, as suggested in documents already printed, is precisely one of the issues at stake.

But legal maneuvers notwithstanding, the truth contained in the Pentagon Papers will most likely out. In fact, much of it long since outed—in publications like this one—and the importance of the Pentagon Papers is only that scholars working under government auspices and with access to a good number of secret documents do not rebut but confirm what critics of the war had deduced. The Papers are clearly a rich vein of important historical material; when they are mined, the result will probably not fit neatly into the partisan patterns which have so far emerged from the debate over the war. So far, the main effect has been one of exposé, in some respects unfair but also a payment in kind for the officials who abused the undue trust placed in them by the public.

Were the acts of revealing and publishing the Papers illegal or legal? Even if legal, were they proper and wise? Even if *illegal*, were they proper and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wise? Numerous issues have been raised, many of them linked, and most of them worthy of lengthy discussion. We offer a few considerations:

• That the newspapers have in fact violated the laws concerning government secrets and espionage is very questionable.

• The present practices for classifying and declassifying documents as secret have only a faint relationship to the real needs for secrecy in the government. Such classification is frequently honored in the breach or purposely manipulated so as to affect public opinion. The fact, therefore, that documents are *stamped* secret cannot be taken as conclusive for this discussion.

• A certain amount of secrecy is necessary in diplomacy and for the orderly process of government. So, it might be remembered, is a large measure of candor. Publication of the Pentagon Papers will create certain problems for the United States. Some of these problems ought to be created. And if by giving the public a truer picture of "U.S. Decision-Making Process in Vietnam," the Papers help to extricate us from the war, the current embarrassment will be a small price to pay.

• The war in Indochina, in our opinion, is not just another political issue, with all the compromise and restraint that implies. It passed that point long ago. The moral arguments for opponents of this war to engage in actions unsuitable for everyday politics are compelling. Yes, there is a risk, as the phrase goes, of a "breakdown in law and order" as a result. It is a risk which should be kept in mind, and minimized. But compared to the breakdown in law and order our intervention has caused in Southeast Asia, Mylai being one example, this risk is a reasonable one to run.

• The refrain of the present Administration in regard to the national security import of the Papers is the same as its refrain, and its predecessors' refrain, in regard to the war itself: "Trust us." But neither its own conduct of policy, nor what we have learned so painfully in recent years—confirmed in the Papers thus far published —demonstrates that there are grounds for such trust.

There is much more to be said. When all is considered, we feel that the publication of the Pentagon Papers will be seen as an important act of public service. It is also something more. It marks the depth of the division which the Vietnam war has wrought on the nation. The *New York Times* is by no means a voice of the "adversary culture." The *Washington Post* is a journal which long supported the U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. In previous instances, the *Times* has willingly covered up covert operations of the military and C.I.A. The man who stands accused of obtaining the Papers—and says he is proud to be so accused—is a member of those groups which have made U.S. policy: a student of Mr. Kissinger's, a former employee of RAND, and a worker in McNamara's Defense Department. William Shirer has commented on the fact that government papers are so often made available to history only through the fact of a revolution or change in regime. He did not relate the present revelations to a situation which, if by no means revolutionary, involves an extremely serious erosion of the legitimacy of the government. In this sense, the sociological implications of the publishing of the Pentagon Papers may be as much of a landmark as their political reverberations. In all the strategic calculations made about Vietnam, no one seems to have properly added this cost in. We will be living with Vietnam for a long time to come.

Trying to Undo The Council

The rubber stamp marked "secret" is still frequently used in Vatican offices, but the outside world (including bishops) is increasingly unwilling to heed the injunction. Of the three preparatory papers for the bishops' Synod, the first, on the priesthood, was made public by the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Marty, while the other two, on justice in the world and the so-called Fundamental Law, found their way less officially to the press—with the wholesome result that the work of the Synod will be preceded by a discussion not limited to the bishops alone. But, while the time left for the first two items on the agenda is barely enough, for the Fundamental Law it is desperately running short.

It is known, in fact, that on this subject the Synod will only receive a "communication," and there can be no doubt about its nature: according to Vatican plans, the bishops will hear the results of a hurried "consultation" of the world episcopate which is now being held. Without any previous debate the bishops are requested to give their opinion on the text they received last February, and to send in their answers before next September. The Vatican Council, with its unexpected developments, has shown how bishops come to a collegial act: by long discussions, exchange of opinions and information—in short, by all those human means any group needs to come to a common decision. To pass a written consultation of individual bishops for an act of collegiality is nothing but a not-so-pious fraud.

In the same way the special Commission for the Fundamental Law "consulted" the members of the Cardinals' Commission for the Revision of Canon Law, of the International Theological Commission and the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith, and the result can be seen by comparing the two remarkably similar texts the bishops have received. Either the consultants had surprisingly little in the way of objections or the twelve commissioners did not find their objections worth reckoning with; it is impossible to make out what happened, for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the answers are, of course, secret. The same Commission will evaluate the bishops' answers and prepare a final text, which (its secretary, the Belgian canon lawyer Onclin, announced) "will be transmitted to the supreme lawgiver of the church," who, in all likelihood, will promulgate it before the end of the year (Onclin even quotes from the already prepared decree of promulgation!).

The idea of a "fundamental law" for the church was born soon after the Council, and was welcomed at first by many progressive bishops and theologians, who thought that the theological renewal inaugurated at the Council should find its reflection in a new legislation. For several years the project was carried on in absolute secrecy, until, in the spring of 1970, the then final text was leaked to the press, and it immediately appeared that whatever hopes had been left during the postconciliar years had better be abandoned. Despite the constant lip-service the project paid to the Council texts, its substance was not only similar to the old legislation, but on many points considerably worse. In fact, it had done exactly the opposite of what had been hoped: instead of liberating, it tried once more to imprison the life of the church; instead of being guided by the insights of the Council, it forced them into the old juridical structures.

From the beginning the insistence on structures is apparent—even in the seemingly mystical flight of the preamble it never forgets that Christ founded "his Holy Church," that "community of faith, hope and charity" as "a society endowed with hierarchical organs," which fulfills its mission by "preserving the unity of the faith by its *laws* and keeping intact its godgiven structure (constitutionem)." Made wise by episcopal pretensions during the Council, the document more than once mentions collegiality, while at the same time circumscribing and limiting it so carefully that the only difference with preconciliar days seems to be the word itself. On the other hand, it never omits exalting the Pope's "supreme, full, immediate and universal power over the church" and "ordinary power over all (local) churches." The word "church" is used in various meanings, but most frequently in the sense of something above and distinct from its members, a power which legislates, rules, teaches, judges, etc. This is especially so in the third part, "on the church and the world," which, instead of putting the church at the service of men, as in *Gaudium et Spes*, seems designed exclusively to claim the church's rights, privileges and advantages, as a power among other powers and, oblivious of all pious phrases about the "church of the poor," insists on its "native right" to "acquire, keep and administer temporal goods."

A term which frequently occurs in connection with the Fundamental Law is "church constitution." Onclin uses it himself in his notes to the bishops, comparing it to the civil constitutions of various countries. Whether or not such a terminology can be applied to the church (a serious theological problem, raised by many critics), it also raises some expectations as to a definition of the individual's rights in the church. At first sight the Law seems to satisfy this demand, for several canons begin with the words "all faithful have a right to . . . ," but a closer look reveals that they all have a little restrictive clause which makes their obvious meaning at least questionable. Perhaps the most revealing of all is the canon which says that the faithful have the right "that their good name be respected by all," and then goes on: "therefore no one may damage it *unlawfully*" (but do we not know from a few recent examples by what *lawful* means one's good name in the church can be damaged?).

Unfortunately, since the Council there is a widespread conviction in the church that juridical categories no longer matter, and this is probably the reason why relatively little interest is shown in this latest project of the Roman curia, and why the bishops are likely to let it pass. Very few people want the church to go back where it was before John XXIII; fewer still think it can be done. But some of these few are working precisely for this end, and the Fundamental Law is one of their cherished means. They have managed to stop liturgical renewal, they are putting the brakes on the ecumenical movement, and many persons who some years ago started to work with enthusiasm in the new Vatican offices (such as the Secretariats for Unity, for Justice and Peace, for the Laity) have been dismissed, have left, or are wondering what they are doing there. But by far the best instrument for stopping whatever may still be moving in the church is this law, and both the secrecy of its preparation and the hurry since its unexpected publication show the importance its makers attach to it. For it is precisely on the juridical level that the Council must be undone, and by a "collegial" act of those same bishops who at the time thought they had snatched the reins from Roman hands.

There is only one miscalculation: for the church is no longer "Rome," a distant authority which imposes its law, nor all the bishops in the world who accept it. The church is (as even the Fundamental Law itself cannot help quoting) "the people of God," and since the Council it is moving forward—indeed, has already moved so far beyond the horizon of the Felicis, Benellis and other Roman prelates that it has long lost sight of them. Its movement cannot be stopped or reversed by juridical measures, nor will it recognize itself in the narrow, immobile sect which emerges from the Fundamental Law. The only result of its promulgation can therefore be that "Rome" will become even more irrelevant than it has already made itself during these past years. To the extent it identifies itself (and is identified in the eyes of the outside world) with the Pope, this is a tragic consequence, for, though the church could do very handily without "Rome," it cannot do without the Pope, nor he without it.

HENRY TEN KORTENAAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOTES ON THE PENTAGON PAPERS

PETER STEINFELS

A few notes on the Pentagon Papers:

(1) Agreed, the Papers are "flawed history." Flawed by overemphasis on Defense Department documents, by their jumbled and interrupted presentation so far, by the further filtering process of the news media. What history, however, is not flawed? If a scholar had come up with a hostile, 47-volume history of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, commissioned by Chou En-lai, its abridgment and full-scale publication in the U.S. press would be hailed as a work of incomparable value by the same men who are now challenging the merit of the Pentagon Papers.

The Johnson theory that the Pentagon Papers were inspired by Robert Kennedy's presidential plans in 1968 may be a striking instance of a man projecting onto others what he sees in his own mirror. The Hilsman memos recommending an anti-Diem *coup* were declassified by Johnson himself in 1968, and given to house historian John Roche, who since used them to discredit Hilsman and, by implication, the anti-Johnson, pro-Kennedy apologists. An interesting example of the personal manipulation of the classification system.

(2) In 1954 the Joint Chiefs of Staff prepared a version of the domino theory, in which everything from the security of Europe to keeping Japan from going Communist depended on victory in Vietnam. Eisenhower approved the report but had more sense than to follow its logical consequences. Why was this outlandish document not challenged? Why were the CIA estimates in 1964 and 1969 minimizing the effect of a Communist Vietnam apparently given little weight? Why, in sum, does discussion in an open society suddenly slide closed at a given point? Behind the whole debate over Vietnam there has been a great unmentionable: the possibility that exchanging the present Saigon regime and its predecessors for a Communist-dominated government would cause less suffering and international disruption than an open-ended war. The media and the major columnists, no less than government officials, have consistently dodged this question; and one of the reasons for the ire directed at youth who carried Vietcong flags was simply that they symbolically broke the taboo of silence.

(3) Another serious question concerns the exclusion from the policy debate of the war's impact on Vietnamese lives and culture. A number of high officials assure us there was much private anguish over the horrors of the war. But Daniel Ellsberg reports that a proposal to undertake an official investigation of the war's impact was rejected. To this day, the Pentagon pleads ignorance about the extent of civilian casualties. The CIA reported that 80 per cent of the victims of our bombing in North Vietnam were civilians; Washington, however, was busy insisting on the military nature of these raids. To some extent, the existence of the Papers is itself proof of the anguish in high places, at least at a late date. But I have the distinct feeling that this anguish, which has a funny way of staying private and out of official memos, was more of a personal affliction to be stoically endured, than a factor of more than peripheral legitimacy when it came to the "tough" decisions. Then it was the *hard* data which counted; the suffering, like the bodies torn apart, was *soft* data. And by not gathering statistics, we kept it that way.

(4) Suggestions that our officials were consciously deceiving the public about Vietnam, or knowingly making decisions which revealed definite limits to their moral sensitivities, have consistently brought scornful replies. Such accusations, it is countered, could be made only by the kind of neurotics who believe in "conspiracy theories" or "devil theories of history." Granted, anti-war activists have often displayed a notion of human reality and personality stripped of complexities. But so have their critics who, speaking sanctimoniously from their self-constructed platforms of worldly wisdom, project the view that our leaders are some cross between Sunday School teachers and adult Boy Scouts. Just good men striving to do their very best. Unlike all the leaders we know in history—who tend to suffer from particular quirks like ambition, narrowness, insensitivity, stupidity, slyness; and, sometimes, are even just plain wicked. Whatever judgment may eventually be reached about a Maxwell Taylor proposing the introduction of combat troops under the humanitarian guise of flood relief, the cant phrases about "honorable men," etc., simply won't suffice.

(5) Hubert Humphrey should quietly withdraw from the presidential race. Those political commentators, like Michael Harrington and Richard Scammon, who have spoken out against the divisive effect of a Lindsay campaign on so-called Middle America, should now be consistent and warn against the defiantly divisive effect of a Humphrey candicacy.

(6) What Pentagon Papers are being written now? Is there a memo advising on how to confuse the public about a "residual force" in Vietnam? Is there one discussing the bombing levels needed after American troops are withdrawn? How will the CIA reports on the Cambodia and Laos incursions read? Who has set down the various purposes of the President's position on prisoners-of-war . . . to build up support at home, 70 per cent; to provide basis for maintaining "residual force," 20 per cent; to negotiate with Hanoi, 5 per cent; to get back the prisoners, 5 per cent . . .?

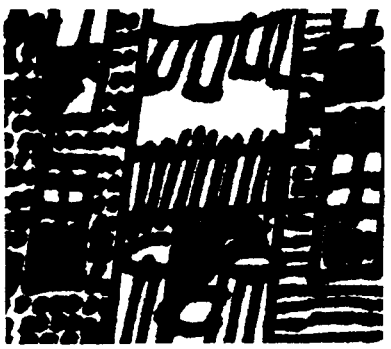
Has anything changed? Well, the telephone bills will be higher.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE UNGODLY CITY

A theological response to Jacques Ellul

HARVEY COX



One by one the highly original and controversial books of Jacques Ellul are now appearing in English, building up an impressive corpus of theological and sociological commentary. The most recent arrival is *The Meaning of the City* (William B. Eerdmans, $5.95, 1970), and I recently finished it. Rarely in my life have I read a book that has so preoccupied me and upset me. The reasons for my over-reaction, however, are not just the obvious ones. Yes, Ellul's book is on the theology of the city, and, once upon a time, I also wrote a book about that. And I am not one of those people who thrive on competition. But the impact of this book was a deeper one than even that kind of face-off might suggest. It is also true that William Stringfellow is quoted on the dustjacket as saying this book "devastates the secular city cultists," and that did introduce in me a small note of apprehensiveness (although a *secular* city *cultist* seemed like a slight contradiction, if not somebody who *needs* devastation). But I plunged in anyway.

My hesitancy was not well grounded. This is a very different book, and it troubled me for a different set of reasons than I had expected. Ellul nowhere mentions *The Secular City*, or, for that matter, any of the other "urban theology" literature. His book, as he frankly concedes at the outset, is a Bible study, an attempt to explicate what he refers to several times as "the scriptural revelation about the city." This means that Ellul imposes on himself a strict limitation: he tries to focus entirely on what the Biblical text itself says about cities.

Well, it says a lot. The expedition begins with Cain who, after bashing in the head of his brother Abel, goes right out to build the first city mentioned in the Bible, the City of Enoch. Ellul finds it highly significant that the first city was built by the first murderer. From there he takes us straight through from Genesis to Revelation, and we scarcely miss even a large village the whole way. We visit, among others, Nimrod, Sodom, Nineveh, Resen, Babylon and Jerusalem. On the whole the effect is fairly devastating. *All* cities, Ellul believes, smart under the sting of God's curse. Not a single one escapes. The judgment does not just fall on evil cities, nor is it pronounced against only certain aspects of urban life. Not at all. Ellul, a lay theologian who belongs to the Reformed Church of France, believes that what is wrong with the city is universal and essential. He applies the venerable Calvinist doctrine of total depravity with a relentlessness and consistency hardly matched even by the Geneva reformer himself and certainly not by Ellul's principal theological mentor, the late Karl Barth, whom I can imagine smiling wryly at Ellul's zealous indictment of the city.

"The curse," declares Ellul, "is not for one city only. . . . Every city has been cursed." He says

> In order to understand the history of the city and the situation as it now exists, we must take into account not only its beginning as a human enterprise, but also the curse placed on it from its creation, a curse which must be seen as a part of its makeup, influencing its sociology and the habitat it can provide. (*The Meaning of the City*, p. 48, hereafter referred to as *MoC*)

But surely what Ellul means, as a good Calvinist, is that in some sense all of man and the entire panoply of his works are tainted by sin, that all men and all of every man need grace? Certainly he believes that the city bears

HARVEY COX, *author of* The Secular City *and* The Feast of Fools, *teaches at Harvard Divinity School.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Even an undialectically transcendent New Jerusalem like Ellul's . . . cannot be totally banished from our thinking about our traffic-snarled cities

no special stigma, but that it lives under the same sin that besets us all?

Wrong. In Ellul's eyes, the malediction under which the city suffers is a special one. "This curse," he says, "is not only that placed on the entire world, but is a special curse on the city, both as belonging to the world and in itself. It is the curse expressed from one end of the Scriptures to the other by, 'I will destroy, says the Lord.'" (*MoC, ibid.*)

Now admittedly this sounds like a somewhat unpromising beginning, especially in today's America where so many people from my respected colleague Professor Edward Banfield (*The Unheavenly City,* Little, Brown and Company, 1970, $6.95) to the most recent exurbanite refugee in Wellesley Hills are ready to agree instantly that the city is cursed and richly deserves it. Indeed, although I doubt that many American urbanists will ever read *The Meaning of the City,* there are paragraphs in it that, except for their explicit theological tone, could have been drawn from one of the more recent baneful utterances of a Banfield or a Moynihan. Take this paragraph, for example, as a bracing antidote for those who feel a little overgladdened by the current theology of hope. Ellul has just alluded to such depressing city questions as slums, transportation, TB. What can we do about them? His answer, if not very hope-full, is at least unequivocal:

> God has revealed to us very clearly that there is absolutely nothing to be done. God has given us no commands with regard to the city . . . the city is a phenomenon absolutely removed from man's power, a phenomenon which he is fundamentally incapable of affecting. For man is not responsible for making the city something other than it is, as we have already seen. There is nothing to be done. And the problem does not change. It is still what it was when, forty or fifty centuries ago, they built up those thick walls of clay whose foundations still subsist. For God has cursed, has condemned, the city instead of giving us a law for it. (*MoC,* p. 47.)

Nothing To Be Done?

At this point readers who are not familiar with the sin-and-grace reverse loop Ellul is employing here might be tempted to go watch TV instead. If there is really *nothing* to be done, then reading Ellul's remaining 200 pages seems pointless. Those who sniff out the gambit, however, perhaps tipped off by deeply instilled childhood memories of Protestant sermon structure, can predict what is coming. Though sin abounds, we know grace abounds even more in the final reel. Meanwhile, however, the picture painted must be unrelievedly odious.

And sure enough, here it comes. Grace comes, after 150 pages for the cursed city and is symbolized by the New Jerusalem. Relief, and predictable gratitude. But wait, something is wrong. Ellul's grace doesn't quite *reach.* "Let there be no confusion:" says Ellul, "there is no use expecting a new Jerusalem on Earth. Jerusalem will be God's creation, absolutely free, unforeseeable, transcendent." (*MoC,* p. 171.) Well then, does the New Jerusalem make *any* contact whatever with our cursed and smelly old Jerusalems here in history, our Tokyos, Sao Paulos, and LA's?

Apparently not. Ellul assures us that ". . . as individuals with a life to live we are in contact with the condemned city and not with the New Jerusalem." (*MoC,* p. 179.) This coming glorious city is a "revelation of God's grace" and we should resist the temptation, he warns us, to force it in anyway ". . . into the present course of things." (*Ibid.*)

Yes, it is a temptation. Even an undialectically transcendent New Jerusalem like Ellul's, at least as "wholly other" as the *deus absconditus* of the very early Barth, cannot be totally banished from our thinking about the traffic-snarled cities we pay our taxes in here below. In fact even Ellul deftly draws some policy opinions from his *theologia negativa* of the urbs. For instance, he is against decentralizing cities (it would merely multiply average-sized cities and facilitate social control). He is very negative about building new cities, (and he is against both reform and revolution in the old ones). In other words, if the promise of the coming New Jerusalem cannot be applied to the course of things here below, its very lack of relevance does suggest an occasional idea—always negative.

Nor is Ellul particularly generous to those who might read the Bible differently and go forth to build or change cities. William Penn and Roger Williams both believed they were obeying the New Testament when they set out to found new cities. Thomas More thought he was expressing his faith in Christ's teaching when he penned his *Utopia.* Jane Addams and Dorothy Day spent years of their lives fighting for small changes in earthly cities. What does Ellul think of the faithfulness of these people to the Biblical message? Toward the end of his book he says

> . . . everything we have said so far concerning the city was of biblical origin, which means that it is an appeal to a decision of faith. Either we believe that the Bible expresses the revelation of God centered in Jesus Christ and that therefore what we have understood concerning the city has an element of truth, or else we do not believe it. (*MoC,* p. 179.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

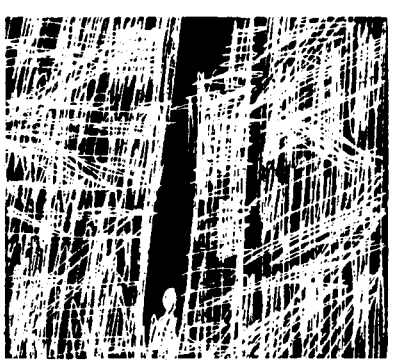
What then *are* we supposed to do? Ellul admits his advice sounds a little banal.

> . . . our job is to lead the life of the other inhabitants of the city. We are to build houses, marry, have children. . . . And thus we are to continue from one generation to the next, assuring, it would seem, that very stability and depth which men were seeking when they built the cities. Are we to do nothing differently? There is one thing which is not asked of us, and that is to *build* the city. We are to live in the city already existing. (*MoC*, p. 74)

This will surely come as good news to the average apathetic American churchgoer, or more likely as no news at all. It is just what he always suspected the Bible had to say, about cities or anything else: nothing. We are supposed to dwell within it but not make any effort to change it. None.

True, our average churchgoer may idly wonder about Jesus' attitude toward Jerusalem. Didn't he confront her rich with stinging rebukes, lash out at her lying lawyers and swindling tax collectors? Didn't he upset the tables of her religious racketeers, rouse her rabble and finally get himself arrested and executed by her power elite? It is here that even John Doe might find Ellul's use of the Bible somewhat questionable. "When [Jesus] speaks to the cities," Ellul says flatly, "he never has anything but words of rejection and condemnation. He never proclaims grace for man's work. All he recognizes is its devilish quality, and his only reaction is to struggle against the power of the city trying to hinder his work." (*MoC*, p. 113.)

Does this interpretation do justice, the man-in-the-



pew might wonder, to the *apparent* mixture of sorrow, love and anger that seem to color Jesus' words to Jerusalem in the famous passage in Matthew 23:37 where, after rebuking the city for killing the prophets, he then says, ". . . how often have I longed to gather your children around me, as a hen gathers her brood under wings, but you refused."? Ellul sees only the condemnation. Jesus speaks to the city, he says, (and he insists it is *all* cities) ". . . only to curse her. Furthermore," he continues, "his words are not exactly spoken to the city, but are pronounced *against* her, and they do not establish a relation, but serve notice of a schism." (*MoC*, p. 118.) Jerusalem as the ultimate city receives a kind of ultimate curse. But in receiving it she really stands for all cities. *No* city, Ellul insists, can escape God's condemnation. Sometimes he becomes almost rhapsodic in his despondency:

> Thus in spite of all the efforts of men of good will, in spite of all those who have tried to make the cities more human, they are still formed of iron, steel, glass and cement. The garden city. The show city. The brilliant city. . . . They are all cities of death, made of dead things, condemned to death, and nothing can alter this fact. The mark of her builders and the judgments of God weigh her ruthlessly down. And everything she hoped in is condemned. . . . (*MoC*, p. 57.)

By now we have begun to suspect, rightly as it turns out, that Ellul's gloom has to do with something more basic than the "city" or its merely terrestrial smog, muggings and police strikes. He is really talking about something else. And it is only as we begin to grasp what he *means* by "the city" that his morose-sounding statements make any sense at all.

II

For Ellul, in short, the city is the most vivid and compelling *symbol* of man's stubborn pride and rebellious disorder. Furthermore, "the city is a specific being," he says (p. 114), "independent of its inhabitants." It is neither flesh and blood, nor steel and concrete. It is principalities and powers, or as Ellul himself puts it, "a symbol and a spiritual power."

The fact is that, in *The Meaning of the City*, Ellul deals with "the city" in much the same way he discussed *"la technique"* in the book which appeared in English under the somewhat misleading title *The Technological Society* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1964). Like technology, the city is for Ellul a metaphysical reality, caught in the grip of a self-propelling autonomy. It is not subject to human direction. The "meaning" of the city is that it . . .

> is not a simple instrument with no determining factors involved. The city is an almost indistinguishable mixture of spiritual power and man's work. It has a very definite spiritual character, an orientation toward evil and away from good which in no way depends on man. And man is clearly not the one to change that inner spirit as he wishes—we see every day that he cannot change even the outer face. He cannot do so even when, after atomic annihilation, he has every chance to do so. He cannot hope for a better utilization of the instrument, because he is not the one using it. We could even turn it around and say that he is the one being used. (*MoC*, p. 169.)

This is a crucial paragraph. Compare it to the follow-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing from *The Technological Society* and what Ellul is saying about both will become a little clearer.

> What seems most disquieting is that the character of technique renders it *independent of man himself*. . . . The important thing is that man, practically speaking, no longer possesses any means of bringing action to bear upon technique. . . . Technique is essentially independent of the human being, who finds himself naked and disarmed before it (in Holloway, James Y., ed., *Introducing Jacques Ellul*, William B. Eerdmans, 1970; (hereafter referred to as "Holloway"); p. 36.)

It is just here that Ellul's most original contribution comes, but it is also the point at which his thought can be most misleading. Ellul sees man imbedded in *structures* of sin and evil. In New Testament terms, he is deeply impressed by the continuing might of the *exousia* and *stoichae*, the forces that constantly mock and spoil man's best intended projects. He believes in what the late Paul Tillich called "the demonic" and what the Apostle Paul referred to as "principalities and powers." Ellul, as a twentieth-century man still has the audacity to believe in these strange critters.

And so do I. The Pauline-Augustinian-Reformation tradition preserves a realistic respect for the uncanny if invisible power of systems. It also harbors a skepticism about the real usefulness of mere good will and individual good deeds. That explains why to the surprise and confusion of so many people, numberless American New Left students are deeply impressed with Ellul, a Calvinist Biblical theologian. Why? Because they too gauge the depravity of our society precisely as total. They too doubt the efficacy of reform. They too believe in corporate structures of evil. Though they don't realize it, they are Augustinians and Calvinists at heart, not Pelagians or Arminians. (Pelagiaus, c.355-425 AD, argued, against St. Augustine, that man did not have to rely solely on grace for his salvation, that he was capable of achieving moral good. His teaching was condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 431 AD. Jacobus Arminius, 1560-1609, opposed Calvin on similar grounds. Ellul's theology has landed him with some strange political bedfellows.)

Old Debates, New Guises

Old theological debates constantly recur in new guises. There is an element of "Pelagianism" about those people, usually designated as "liberals," who believe such things as technology, the state and the city are neutral instruments, capable of use for either good or evil purposes. Ellul rejects this liberal axiom completely. In his own idiom, which is theological, he sees what both Karl Marx and, in a way, Sigmund Freud saw in theirs—that man is *not* simply a free moral actor, but that his consciousness is shaped by forgotten forces, deformed by cultural pressures and falsified by social position and class interest. No technology can be "neutral" in anything but the most abstract and therefore trivial sense because every technology emerges as the product of a human intention and at a certain point in *some* society. Technologies are tainted and suffused with human meaning *fully* and *from the beginning*. They are involved in *original*, not accidental sin. They cannot be redeemed even by the very best of human intentions. Like that notorious thing called "The System" which personifies metaphysical evil for today's young radicals, Ellul's "technique," as well as his "City," cannot be improved or upgraded. Both

City and System resist all palliatives and programs. They are going to hell and they need salvation, not self-help schemes.

Here, of course, Ellul and his non-theological admirers part company. Ellul's solution for the mess is patience; theirs is revolution. Still the structure of a certain variety of Marxism coheres very well with that of a certain kind of Calvinism. The convergence keeps appearing time and again, even in people who would be surprised to be told about it. This structural similarity is discussed with great brilliance, incidentally, by the noted Marxist philosopher Lucien Goldman in his book *The Hidden God* (Humanities Press, 1964, $12.50). Both traditions teach that radical evil demands a radical solution.

Jacques Ellul should not be dismissed as a mere fatalist or a theological stand-patter. He thinks in very sophisticated categories, however pious they may sometimes sound, and his ideas, about the city, politics and technology, add a depth dimension that liberal intellectuals often fail to consider. This is why the appearance of his books in English is an important event.

The problem with Ellul however is analogous to the one created by certain forms of what might be called "revolution*ism*." I fully agree with Ellul's case for a deep and structural view of human evil. There he is right. My argument with him is that he hoists grace to such a removed and transcendent sphere that the result for man turns out to be something akin to inertia if not resignation. So also with certain forms of revolutionary thought. If one argues that nothing at all can be accomplished before the seizure of state power, in fact that anything

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

else is a counterproductive sop, one has a neat chic-radical excuse for doing nothing at all. He serves best who merely sits and bitches, or perhaps at best spreads the revolutionary word and shoots down any incremental step as "objectively reactionary." As Ellul says, "there is nothing to do," at least until the Second Coming, except to work "for the welfare of the city" (*MoC*, p. 74.) which, I suppose, is not nothing. It is a little better than benign neglect.

Still, a sharp doctrine of sin and grace like Ellul's need not produce his low profile forbearance for urban evils. There are other theological options. The exegetical problem involved has nothing to do with the *reality* of the *exousia*, the principalities and powers, the structures of evil. They are certainly real. It has to do with their *status*. In Pauline terms, the *exousia* have been defeated by God in Christ. They no longer have the power to warp and destroy man. Their defeat, however, is still "proleptic," and will be consummated only at the Last Day. We live, for Saint Paul, in the interim with the joyous recognition that although they still strut and struggle, these evil structures cannot finally kill us.

The question of how we relate to the "powers" is still not answered, however, until we examine more closely what it means that they have been "defeated." Here is where I think Ellul makes his fundamental theological mistake. He finds the tools and structures of human life so indissolubly admixed with evil spiritual powers that the sickness is unto death. He believes this evil spiritual power "is the *essential* characteristic of the city." (*MoC*, p. 15; italics mine.)

Here is where Ellul and I part ways. Although his recognition of the irreducibly structural quality of evil is both theologically and politically accurate, he has been led astray by a flabby doctrine of grace and a serious misreading of the Biblical evidence on the *positive* possibilities of the *exousia*, the mystiques suffusing the corporate structures of human life.

The best clue to Ellul's fatal flaw comes when he tells us (*MoC*, p. 110.), that there is *no continuity* between the old terrestrial Jerusalem and the New Jerusalem. The fact is that in Christian doctrine there is an element of continuity between the old Jerusalem and the new. Creation is *not* destroyed by grace: rather it is transformed, deepened and purified. Ellul is right to point out that the relationship between Creation and Kingdom does not arise from some inner capacity for self-salvation. It is a gift. He is wrong however, in my opinion, to see grace as *abrogating* the works of man in history. Though man's attempts to forge community are often cruel and self-deceptive, and are always infected by his greed and compulsiveness, they can nevertheless at times become signs of the Kingdom. This is the miracle of grace. The Kingdom of God breaks in upon us now and then, frequently when least expected. It is, as Jesus said, "in the midst of us." We can build human community, may-

Though man's attempts to forge community are often self-destructive, they can nevertheless at times become signs of the Kingdom

be even new cities, with some hope that grace need not cancel out our efforts completely.

But what about the demonic powers that still stalk the earth, including the mystiques of technology and the city? Ellul says they "have already been conquered" (*MoC*, p. 167.) but "are still hard at work even though the underpinnings of their presence in the city have already been removed." (*Ibid.*, p. 170.) Only once does Ellul concede that the defeat of the spiritual powers of the city ". . . put her at man's eventual disposal." (*Ibid.*, p. 171.) Notice even here it is the city itself, not its "powers" that are put at man's disposal. And notice also that even this is limited by the term "eventual." Grace for Ellul is not only spatially removed, it is also temporally postponed.

It is surprising that Ellul, as a Calvinist, should turn out to be so undependable here. Unlike Calvin, he exhibits a curiously thin doctrine of creation when he says that ". . . man's power is first of all the result of hardening his heart against God. . . ." Surely this is wrong. At best this is true of man's sinful perversion of his power, not of his power *as such*. According to the Genesis story God endows man with certain powers and responsibilities. Before there is any hint of a fall he is charged with the task of tilling the garden and is assigned dominion over the earth. Yes, he blows it, he "falls." But then there is grace. By grace he is not only once again *called* to his worldly responsibility, he is also *empowered* to assume it.

The Nub

The nub of the issue is this: can man use even the *exousia* to glorify God and serve his neighbor? I think the answer is yes. The "powers" are not only being defeated, according to Saint Paul, at several points in his epistles, they are also being *tamed* and *harnessed*. Christ, according to the apostle's striking metaphor, "takes captivity captive and gives gifts to men." Not only is the lethal power of the principalities being taken from them, the powers themselves are being made servants of man. The trouble with Ellul is *not* his Pauline doctrine of corporate sin. On that he is right. The trouble with him is that, very unlike Barth, his doctrine of radical evil is not matched by an equally powerful doctrine of *structural* grace. One gets the feeling in reading Ellul that sin abounds, but grace doesn't abound quite as much.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

III

I have often wondered why different people claiming to base their theologies on the same Biblical evidence come out at such different places. My hunch is that simmering below the surface of every theologian's mind there is a brew of unspoken assumptions about what the world needs to hear for its health and salvation. I am not at all talking about purposely coloring the message for popular acceptance. And certainly this is the last thing of which Jacques Ellul could be accused. No, I mean a deep, perhaps even preconscious *feel* for what needs to be said, a feel that influences not just one's explication of a text, but what one sees in it.

I think my own difference with Ellul may stem from this deep level, and may explain why *The Meaning of the City* rattled me so badly. Ellul clearly holds a quasi-promethean view of modern man's sin. Our culpability today, for Ellul, stems not from dereliction but from trespass, not from sloth but from pride, not from the things we have left undone, but from the things we have done. Take for example the following caustic indictment found toward the end of *The Meaning of the City*. Though wordy and overly vivid, it requires quoting at some length:

> How ridiculous, how grotesque is the bravado of naked little man—bravado filling every newspaper, every socialist doctrine, every Protestant journal, every belief in the rebirth of humanism. "I am, and there is none else," man shouts. "I will stop the whole mess, I will put it in order. It's not so bad as it seems. This is only the normal course of history, a change of civilizations. There is no reason to be afraid of these new developments. In a few decades we will be familiar with them. All we have to do is adapt and not reject them (for refusal is devilish, as has been known since the work of Freud), and we must expand our minds in order to dominate them. We'll handle it."
>
> Poor little man. You failed to notice that you are not dealing with flesh and blood, but with Thrones, and Powers and Dominations which are attacking you, grinding you under, dominating you from every side, and that the Devil's last trick is to make you think that you can put order back into this chaos, that you are going to get spiritually big enough to control the world! To be sure, the Devil will offer you this spiritual growth. He offered the very same thing, and with the same goal in mind, to Jesus Christ. But with him the offer failed. (Matt. 4:8-10) (*MoC*, pp. 160-67.)

I personally believe Lewis Mumford is right when he sees cities as expressions of man's almost instinctual desire to share life intimately with his fellows

What can be said about this extraordinary passage? It seems futile to point out the bizarre interpretation of the temptation of Jesus who, in these verses in Matthew, was being offered the kingdoms of the world *in return for worshipping Satan*. Nor does it seem worthwhile to question whether putting the words "It's not so bad as it seems," in the mouth of "naked little man" summarizes very accurately the disillusion and cynicism of most men today. Especially when every hour brings a new reminder of our frailty and powerlessness. All that seems obvious. No. In diagnosing the spiritual illness of the era Ellul is just plain wrong. The disaster that seems about to overtake us springs not from our brash cocksureness but from our cynical suspicion that there is nothing that can possibly be done about it.

So my *feel* for the situation, (and, also, I must admit, my reading of the Biblical evidence), brings me out at a point different from Ellul. I do not argue that man's sin is *solely* that of abdication, sloth and cowardice rather than pride and swagger. I am saying that our sin is a curious *admixture* of both. It mingles arrogance and timidity, rushing in and sneaking away, *hubris* and *acedia*. I would further contend that in today's world, for most people, fear and impotence and self-pity seem more central. But, in any case, Ellul's unilateral emphasis on arrogance certainly misses the mark widely.

There may even be a kind of elitist bias in Ellul's thought. Certainly for his own French Protestant fellows (who have done quite well, as a group, in banking, technology and business) his strictures may apply. They may even be necessary for that small group of people who bother to read books on the problems of the city (among whom, admittedly one used to find a higher percentage of messiah complexes). But surely accusations of "bravado" and smugness are hardly relevant to those who eke out a daily existence in the *favellas* of Brazil or who dive into the Asian mud to escape American bombers. Like the Pope's well-intentioned exhortations to the rich that they should share with the poor, Ellul's book means nothing at all to those who are the hostages of powerlessness and deprivation—and whose masters have for long generations enjoyed the support of theologians.

Of course we should know, as Ellul reminds us in the above passage, that our struggle is not just "against flesh and blood," but against "principalities and powers." But a *struggle* it is. And in order to struggle a man needs hope. Grace, or whatever word we can use to convey the content of that idea to secularized modern man, must be real and accessible—the incalculable source of surprise and newness in a closed and jaded world.

Ellul's radically corporate and stubbornly theological view of human evil is his most important insight. If it were matched by an equally robust view of man's pos-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sibilities under grace, Ellul would be one of the most significant Christian thinkers on the scene today. Unfortunately it is not, and perhaps that is too much to ask anyway. We should be thankful for what Ellul does give us; a tensile interpretation of our present plight, one that makes us rightly suspicious of jim-dandy answers.

IV

It occurred to me in reading Ellul that although his scorn seems wasted when poured out on the city, it makes much more sense when applied to the State as he does in *The Political Illusion* (Knopf, 1967, $10). Cities, after all, are one of the oldest and most persistent forms of corporate human existence. Unlike what Ellul believes, urban civilization cannot be equated with warfare. On the contrary, many of the early cities emerged when people huddled close to protect themselves from the marauders who rode in from the country. I personally believe Lewis Mumford is right and Ellul is wrong when Mumford sees cities as expressions of man's almost instinctual desire to share life intimately with numbers of his fellows. As Mumford says:

> The final mission of the city is to further man's conscious participation in the cosmic and the historic process. Through its own complex and enduring structure, the city vastly augments man's ability to interpret these processes and take an active, formative part in them, so that every phase of the drama it stages shall have, to the highest degree possible, the illumination of consciousness, the stamp of purpose, the color of love. That magnification of all the dimensions of life, through emotional communion, rational communication, technological mastery, and above all, dramatic representation, has been the supreme office of the city in history. And it remains the chief reason for the city's continued existence. (Mumford, Lewis, *The City in History,* Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961, p. 576.)

But what about the sovereign national State? A latecomer in history, it *does* almost always use technology to control and oppress. It *does* fabricate demonic myths. It *is* associated closely with the rise of modern war and *has* helped make war more total and more catastrophic. In his book, *The Political Illusion,* Ellul rightly laments the fact that "the nation-state has become the most important reality" (p. 9.) and has devoured function after function until it has become nearly omnicompetent, or so it would have us believe. We have deceived ourselves badly, he believes, if we think we can solve our problems "politically" in this sense. We cannot. What can we do?

Here Ellul's answer is not merely nothing. There *is* something, and although he might be surprised to hear it, his advice sounds remarkably like what we are hearing today from those who find inspiration in the nearly forgotten traditions of anarchism, communalism and utopian socialism. I'm not speaking of the stereotyped bomb-throwing anarchist but of the people who reject the modern superstitution which tells us the sovereign state is a natural or reasonable form of human community. As Martin Buber wrote in his *Paths in Utopia* in 1949 (Beacon Press Paperback, 1958), a "utopian socialist" believes that

> . . . we must create here and now the space *now* possible for the thing for which we are striving, so that it may come to fulfillment *then*; he does not believe in the post-revolutionary leap, but he does believe in revolutionary continuity. To put it more precisely: he believes in a continuity within which revolution is only the accomplishment, the setting free and extension of a reality that has already grown to its true possibilities. (p. 13.)

Buber believes we have allowed "politics" to be defined too narrowly and have mistakenly assumed that the control of state power is crucial. Perhaps, and here Ellul would agree, it is how to *withdraw* power from the State that is the real issue. In *The Political Illusion* Ellul proposes that we work now for the restoration of "an autonomous vitality" to those sectors and associations in the society which are independent of the State. We should

> . . . create positions in which we reject and struggle with the State, *not* in order to modify some element of the regime or force it to make some decision, but, much more fundamentally, in order to permit the emergence of social, political, intellectual, or artistic bodies, associations, interest groups, or economic or Christian groups totally independent of the state, yet capable of opposing it . . . (*Political Illusion*, p. 222,, *cit.* in Holloway, p. 76.)

This is a strategy that could encompass guerrillas eking out liberated zones, angry black parents assuming control of local schools and young urban dwellers creating alternative forms of family life. Welcome, Jacques, to the strategists of alternative institutions!

Jacques Ellul is neither a purblind Luddite nor a quaint religious fanatic. Though his theology has some serious thin spots and even some holes here and there, his instincts are usually dependable. He cannot be ignored. If someone could convince Ellul to take the Good News as seriously as he takes the sin of man, he might be unbeatable. But if Barth couldn't teach him that, I don't know who can.

Summer Schedule

In keeping with the usual practice, *Commonweal* is again appearing on alternate weeks during the summer months. Forthcoming issues will be dated July 23, August 6, August 20, September 3 and September 17. From then on we will resume our normal weekly publishing schedule.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GOVERNOR REAGAN'S PRIVATE WAR

The battle of the bar in California

LAWRENCE T. KING

If medals were handed out for notable victories in the war on poverty, the California Rural Legal Assistance, funded by the federal Office of Economic Opportunity, would certainly walk off with the lion's share. In the four-and-a-half years of its existence, CLRA and its young activist lawyers have achieved a remarkable courtroom record, attracted national attention and won the plaudits of both the California Bar Association and the American Bar Association. They have also made some powerful enemies.

When the OEO appropriated $1.8 million to finance CLRA for 1971, Governor Ronald Reagan vetoed the grant and accused the legal assistance staff of "gross and deliberate violations of OEO regulations" and "failure to represent the true legal needs of the poor." The governor's action put President Nixon's newly named OEO director, Frank Carlucci, in the difficult position of overriding one of the country's most powerful Republicans or disbanding an agency that had established a national reputation as the OEO's most effective battalion in the war on poverty.

Carlucci handled the matter in a manner that pleased neither Reagan nor the CLRA. He provided interim funding to keep the California agency going for six months and appointed a commission of retired state Supreme Court justices to investigate the Governor's charges. If the commission finds the charges unwarranted, Carlucci will have no alternative but to continue CLRA funding, a decision that could put Nixon and Reagan on a collision course.

Reagan is angry over the fact that federally paid lawyers are suing California agencies. What hurts most of all, he might add, is the fact that they are winning their cases. The charge that CLRA is ignoring the true needs of the poor seems ridiculous when one examines the legal aid society's activity logs. In four years, CLRA has handled more than 72,000 legal problems for individuals and families whose incomes are below the poverty level. That is quite a work load for a staff of 40 attorneys, especially when it has to be sandwiched in between class-action cases and other formal law suits requiring lengthy and thorough preparation.

Among the more notable successes of CLRA have been actions preventing California growers from using illegal cheap Mexican labor when domestic labor is available; enforcement of state minimum wage laws for field workers; retesting 22,000 Mexican-American schoolchildren in Spanish after they had been placed in classes for the mentally retarded as a result of scores in English language IQ tests; implementation of the food-stamp program in rural areas where it was not available; issuance of a court order compelling Reagan to restore $200,000 he had cut from the state's medical-aid program; and the inauguration of a free-milk program for 300,000 undernourished schoolchildren.

To California's Governor, these accomplishments were "not serving the true interests of the poor"—they were embarrassments to the state. Elaboration for this theme was provided by Lewis Uhler, a former John Birch Society member appointed by Reagan to head the state's anti-poverty agency after his predecessor was fired for expressing his belief publicly that CLRA was doing a "good job." Uhler's observation:

"What we've created in CLRA is an economic leverage equal to that of large corporations. Clearly that should not be. When businesses sue to collect debts or protect patents or challenge government rulings, that's all in the spirit of free enterprise. When farm workers sue not to change laws but to obtain enforcement of existing laws, such suits constitute harassment."

Uhler was given the assignment of preparing Reagan's case against CLRA. He sent out 3,000 letters to attorneys and judges soliciting complaints against CLRA operations and "standards of legal ethics." Their replies, he assured them, would remain anonymous. He then traveled up and down the state collecting any information he could to discredit and embarrass CLRA. In this fashion he amassed enough material to put together a 283-page report which was submitted to OEO headquarters in Washington. Included were such charges as:

CLRA is actively aiding Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee; CLRA attorneys interceded at Soledad Prison to attempt to arrange a meeting of Angela Davis with George Jackson, the militant black inmate whose younger brother was killed in the Marin Courthouse shooting; CLRA funds were used to buy bumper stickers for an unsuccessful Mexican-American state Assembly candidate; counsel was provided a Chicano youth group planning a rock concert; improper lan-

LAWRENCE T. KING, *a long-time contributor, is a California newspaperman.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

guage was used by attorneys in the presence of high school students.

In all, the report yielded 129 charges. They were given to the federal commission of three jurists, who began their hearings early in May. At their first session, they incurred the enmity of Reagan because they insisted that the hearings be public and that adversary, cross-examination courtroom procedures be followed. The Governor, who wanted the hearings closed to the public, instructed state employees not to testify. As the commission went about its work—well publicized in the news media—the Governor called an increasing number of press conferences to attack the existing welfare structure in general and the work of the commission in particular.

During the first two weeks of hearings, the commission dismissed 90 of the charges as "involving no factual questions," being "trivial in nature" or involving "isolated errors of judgment lacking evidence of overt violations." That left 39 charges to be investigated.

The commission then journeyed to Soledad Prison for testimony on the charges involving Angela Davis. Here four more charges fell by the wayside. Robert B. Williamson, retired chief justice of Maine and commission chairman, issued a statement dismissing as "totally unfounded and without merit" the Reagan charges that CLRA attorneys were "improperly involved" with Miss Davis and three prison inmates known as the Soledad Brothers. "No evidence whatsoever has been produced," Justice Williamson said, "to support any claim of misconduct by CLRA personnel or attorneys regarding these matters."

Next the commission went to El Centro, in the heart of the Imperial Valley, to investigate charges that CLRA was actively engaged in promoting union activity in violation of OEO regulations. Most of the testimony presented here sought to make a clear distinction between aiding a union *per se* and providing legal counsel to individuals who happened to be members of a labor union. The commission now is in the process of evaluating this testimony.

During the course of the commission's hearings throughout the state, it became obvious, as one newspaper editorialist put it, that Reagan's case against the CLRA "holds about as much water as a fish net." The Governor, however, was determined to win the battle of the headlines by saving his last blast for last.

Early in May, the home of a Salinas attorney who had testified against CLRA was damaged by a firebomb. Just as the federal commission was winding up its work in California, Reagan called the press in and announced his request to the FBI for an investigation of the bombing and "threats received by witnesses who had testified against CLRA." The Governor got his headlines: "Reagan Asks FBI Probe of Bombing," "Reagan Links Bombing to CLRA." The very next day, the Governor's verbal blasts blew up in his face when the Salinas police announced an arrest in the bombing and declared there "was absolutely no connection between the case and the CLRA inquiry."

The incident provided a crowning example of the sort of charges that Reagan used to fill his dossier against the CLRA—unfounded accusations, innuendos, hearsay evidence and anonymous testimony. Aside from any question of CLRA impropriety, however, it is now crystal clear that the Reagan administration is opposed politically and philosophically to the basic concept of government-funded legal assistance for the poor.

R. Sargent Shriver, the first director of OEO who was invited to testify before the federal commission, attributed Reagan's veto to politics. "Many people," he observed, "believe that since 80 percent of the people are not poor, you can be elected happily and forever if you defend the interests of those 80 percent against the remaining 20 percent. . . . Legal service programs should provide effective representation for the poor—including suits against the government. If you modify that principle, you've killed the program and you've killed an essential part of the American system of justice."

It now remains to be seen whether President Nixon agrees with Shriver's concept—or with Reagan's. The monstrous distortion of the welfare problem in Sacramento has become known as "Reagan's baby"—but it has been dumped right on the steps of the White House.

MURDER, LTD.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

THE SCREEN

Although John Christie was one of England's most prolific murderers, Richard Fleischer's film about him, *10 Rillington Place,* tends to play down the act of murder itself. Not that the film tries to keep Christie's avocation a secret from us. On the contrary, Fleischer's hold on our attention depends entirely on our knowing what Christie was so long able to conceal from everyone else. The opening scenes, therefore, catch Christie (Richard Attenborough) in the act. He convinces a woman he can cure whatever ails her, then he gasses and strangles her instead. This is apparently his standard procedure, but the film spends no time dwelling on the gruesome details. The camera averts its eye before anything too unsightly or indecent happens. In fact, the film only has two murder scenes, and both are done as Christie himself would have wanted, with his reserve and discretion.

This deference to the *other* John Christie—the respectable and public, but less well-remembered man—is natural enough. (After all, it's Dr. Jekyll who keeps up our interest in the Stevenson tale: not Mr. Hyde.) If a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mad killer is what Christie really was, then the drama of his life lies in the innocuous, sociable bloke everyone took him to be. The capacity for pretense and cunning—the imaginative elements of his life—are represented by this normative alter-ego he affected. Compared to such assumed identity, the murderer has a merely clinical appeal. By the end of the film we cringe at Christie's ordinary activities more than the killings.

The victim Christie torments most is the one he attacks with his pious social graces instead of his strangling cord. This is Timothy Evans (John Hurt), a boarder in Christie's house and the husband of a woman (Judy Geeson) Christie murders. Christie blames the death on the illiterate Evans, who is too witless to defend himself against the charge. To the jury and judge Evans is clearly the kind of postwar Englishman who's letting down the side: he's the sort who really needs the welfare state to care for him. Christie knows his place and how to keep it. He succeeds in maintaining his lowly station in life just as surely as Evans fails to do so. This failure is what Evans is convicted of, while Christie remains almost above suspicion.

Yet if we pity Evans, in all justice we should pity Christie as well. Their lives are curiously parallel. Christie is, as he gladly admits, a disabled veteran of the Great War, and Evans, judging by his limp and the khaki jacket he wears to work, a disabled veteran of the Second War. Vaguely similar backgrounds seem to have had similar effects on the two men too. Both make up glamorous stories about their pasts to compensate for the meager expectations they had in reality. Evans' fabrications are too ignorant and far-fetched to fool anyone. Christie's are just modest and educated enough to take in not only his female victims, but the whole English judiciary. This is the only difference between them, though, and it's a difference of degree rather than kind.

The title *10 Rillington Place*, which comes from the Ludovic Kennedy book on which the film is based, puts Christie and Evans under the same roof. It emphasizes the way in which the adversaries in the Christie case were alike: this dingy house at the end of a *cul de sac* was their common heritage—literally and legally Christie's heritage, but the heritage of them both in a figurative sense. Fleischer shot his story on location where it originally occurred, and the resulting film is a social commentary on the house more than the murder case. We see three generations of occupants, for after Christie and Evans are gone, some black immigrants move in. Their fate in English society will reflect and magnify Evans' fate in the courtroom. But it is these blacks, ironically, who expose the murderous truth behind Christie's civility. They expose all the dead bodies Christie stashed behind the walls: they are the ones who really put 10 Rillington Place on the map. COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

BOOKS

Small servings of pathos

On Being Told That Her Second Husband Has Taken His First Lover And Other Stories

TESS SLESINGER

Quadrangle, $6.95

GERALD WEALES

In *The Saturday Review* for July 21, 1934, there is a picture of Tess Slesinger looking for all the world like a Tess Slesinger heroine—eager, attractive, a little wry perhaps. Dressed in a white suit with some kind of leaf-looking things at the throat (Regina Sawyer, the Slesinger self-portrait in "After the Party," wore "a strictly tailored suit that was anything but pour le sport"), her hat on the side of her head (like Elizabeth in *The Unpossessed*), she sits, an elbow cocked against the arm of the sofa, an almost empty glass in one hand, talking to Whit Burnett, who had published "Missis Flinders" in *Story* and was to publish a few other Slesinger stories. "Missis Flinders," which began life as an independent story (it is in *On Being Told . . .*), had become the final section of *The Unpossessed*, the novel whose publication the *SR* photograph was designed to celebrate.

Miss Slesinger, who had been an assistant fashion editor at the *New York Herald Tribune* and had worked for the *New York Evening Post Literary Review*, made her debut as a short-story writer in 1930 in the *Menorah Journal* and went on to write for both the respected small magazines—*This Quarter, Pagany*—and more popular publications—*American Mercury, Forum*. Then came *The Unpossessed* and the celebrity of a limited, but real literary success. In 1935, her work appeared in *Scribner's, Redbook, The New Yorker* and often in *Vanity Fair*—is that upward mobility?—and she brought together a selection of her short fiction in *Time: The Present*.

After the publication of her stories, she went to Hollywood to help write *The Good Earth*. There, she became a wife (for the second time) and a mother, thus filling the emptiness expressed, directly or obliquely, by so many of her heroines, notably Margaret Flinders in *The Unpossessed*. She continued to write for the screen, somewhat fitfully; only six movies in nine years carry her

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

credits. Except for her first film and *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*, which she and her husband, Frank Davis, wrote shortly before her death in 1945, her movies—things like *The Bride Wore Red* and *Girls' School*—are only recalled by buffs who strain their memories; *Girls' School*, incidentally, was based on a story in this volume, "The Answer on the Magnolia Tree," an apparent result of her one attempt to teach creative writing, at Briarcliff Manor. And Tess Slesinger, the writer of fiction? She was last heard of in January 1936, in the pages of the *Delineator* (a cousin of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, for those who have forgotten). The story was called, "For Better, for Worse."

Last heard of, that is, until 1966. That year, *The Unpossessed* was republished, by Avon Books, with a strangely prim Afterword by Lionel Trilling, in which he seemed to be trying to dismiss the novel and perhaps—but gently, gently—settle some old scores with the author. Even if Trilling were not the original for one of the characters (definitely not, he says), it could hardly have been comforting, even in retrospect, to have one's friends, one's circle condemned for political, sexual, human impotence, and that is what *The Unpossessed* does. The book was largely ignored (who reviews paperbacks?), except by Murray Kempton in the *New Republic* (November 5, 1966), who found himself in the odd position of attacking Miss Slesinger with one hand and defending her from Trilling with the other. Perhaps he felt he owed her something for having used *The Unpossessed* to make a point in *Part of Our Time* and characteristically for that fascinating book—having made a handful of factual errors about what went on in the novel.

Although I read both Trilling and Kempton with interest, they are—each in his own way—barriers between the reader and the novel. Anyone who picks up the paperback is unlikely to be interested in it as a *roman à clef* (a weapon in a long-dead personal battle) or as an artifact. It will either work as a novel or as nothing at all and, for the most part, I think it works. I confess that I occasionally found myself drowning in some of the subjective chapters, picking my way reluctantly from nuance to nuance with a too sensitive narrator. Trilling rightly places this kind of writing in the Mansfield-Woolf tradition, but the passages, as often as not, are at the Dorothy Parker end of that continuum (see the arch use of "yon" in Elizabeth's witty self-pity in "The Fast Express" chapter). Yet, the cumulative effect of the book is a strong one, finally more painful than satirical in its picture of the intellectual, by definition unable to commit himself to revolution (it *is* 1934) or to life. More important, from my standpoint, are those chapters that slip the subjective, and become effective dramatically—almost always with satiric or pathetic overtones—of which the long party section (the novel's real denouement: "Missis Flinders" is a coda) is by far the best. The Avon edition was still in print when last I checked, which suggests that *The Unpossessed* found contemporary readers out there.

Now Quadrangle Books has added "A Life in the Day of a Writer" (*Story*, November 1935) to *Time: The Present* and issued the collection under the title of one of Miss Slesinger's best-named, least interesting stories. Her work here, as usual, is extremely competent, but to someone who has just read the novel, the stories are likely to seem a little fragile. "Well, what *did* she want," wondered the heroine of "Mother to Dinner," Miss Slesinger's first story; "wondered impatiently," in fact, and, even though I recognized the validity of the situation, I shared the impatience, wanted to snap, "Forget the property storm and cook the dinner!" Devices become artificial as, by repetition, they become too obvious: for instance, the multiple address ("Ah, careful there, Cornelia; the ice is thin that way, Mrs. D. Graham; watch your step . . . Miss North") in which a character (like Margaret Flinders in *The Unpossessed*) tries to mesh all her selves. And repetition itself—a phrase, a characteristic, an image picked up, examined, put down, picked up again—is such a device.

In too many of the stories, there is an ironic twist at the end which is, as often as not, predictable two pages past the opening line. These stories succeed only occasionally, as in "Jobs in the Sky," in which the intensity of the selling day is more important than the inevitable firing at the end. Usually, as in "The Times So Unsettled Are," the preparations are too unwieldy for the small serving of pathos we finally get from the protagonist's failure to understand what we see going on. In June 1935, Miss Slesinger talked to the John Reed Club on "The Short Story: Slick Paper or Life?" So far as I know the speech has never been published and her point was probably more political than her stories suggest (in only a few of them does the Depression and radical politics appear and then peripherally), but her topic suggests a personal dilemma as a writer. Although her themes are important—the quality and nature of marriage, the transience of youth, the discovery of self, personal and social guilt—her stories, finally, seem rather more slick than life.

Yet, that judgment is too neat—clever enough to have been made by a Slesinger character. Still, not unfair. For a few years in the mid-'30s, the small, personal voice of Tess Slesinger could be heard clearly in her novel and her handful of stories. The temptation, now that that voice can be heard again, is to imagine that it was simply the first whisper of a potential roar. Such a sentimental response to her work means that Miss Slesinger must be turned into that favorite American character—the light that failed—and the proper pigeonhole found for her. She was then, as you like it: (1) the serious writer who sold out to Hollywood; (2) the female writer who sold out to domesticity; (3) the youthful writer who lost out to death. The Publisher's Note in *On Being Told . . .* chooses the last of these, decorates the unhappy fact of her death at 39 with "the premature death of an artist." I doubt, however, for all her notebooks full of story ideas, that she would have come back from films to fiction—as Daniel Fuchs did—even had she lived. One thing about Tess Slesinger

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was that she had a merciless eye for herself and I'll take her own testimony from "After the Party." When Regina Sawyer, a little drunk, is asked to autograph a copy of her novel (*The Undecided*), she begins to read it instead and then cries out, "Oh, God, I'll never do anything like it again, never, never! It's got everything in it I ever saw or thought or felt."

The Politics of Authenticity

MARSHALL BERMAN

Atheneum, $8.95

LEONARD KRIEGEL

Perhaps the most glaring paradox to be found in the contemporary youth culture is that, in its effort to deny history and to fashion itself after its media image, it has ignored the very legitimate claims it can make upon the Western past. Certain figures in that past have by now assumed the role of icons to the radical young—a strange and possibly mythical being known as "the Young Marx, Thoreau, Blake"—and are objects of worship in the quest for new forms of existence. But this is not a claim on a past; it is an idea of function, an elevation of prophecy to ritual which frequently hides its own mendacity of spirit behind the rhetoric of revolutionary change or the growth of revolutionary consciousness. I do not doubt that Blake saw eternity in a grain of sand, just as I know that God should have created the world the way Vermeer painted it in his *View of Delft*—the one desire to seize the totality of experience, the other as attractive a fusion of man and nature as I can conceive—but I doubt that students who invoke Blake's name in order to seize a mimetic revolution know that change, too, must be fixed in time and space, that before we can have the millennium we must create a livable here and now, and that until the body is fed the spirit cannot be properly satisfied.

The great virtue of Marshall Berman's *The Politics of Authenticity: Radical Individualism and the Emergence of Modern Society* is that it makes demands upon the historical Western past in the name of those "young people, hip or straight" who share with the author the "dream of an ideal community in which individuality will not be subsumed and sacrificed, but fully developed and expressed." It builds its persuasive arguments upon a re-examination of some of those same cultural documents which have been, until now, the property of the "other" society, and it does so while outlining a consciousness that is both broader and more threatening than the breathless paroxysms of wonder that have, of late, greeted the startling revelation that the young, as Fitzgerald once said of the rich, are different. Professor Berman recognizes that what is important is not the difference, inevitably superficial, but the inheritance, inevitably meaningful. The question is what is to be done with the Western cultural legacy if young radicals are really serious about change. For what they have inherited is the peculiarly rich and distinctively threatening forms which consciousness assumes in our world.

Professor Berman's "authenticity" is another, as he himself points out, "rather arbitrary" word which has embedded itself in the contemporary vocabulary to "express a persistent and intense concern with *being oneself*." But if the choice of label is arbitrary, the problem of which it speaks extends to that confrontation between self and society that has become the chief characteristic of Western man's struggle to come of age. By fixing the recognition of the need for an authentic individuality in that very period which we think of as the cornerstone of modern intellectual rationalism, the Enlightenment, Professor Berman wants us to recognize that the legacy of political thought is every bit as ambiguous and multi-faceted as the manifestations of that ambiguity in our time.

Whether or not it is possible to bring into being the necessary balance between the authentic self and a society which makes it possible for its citizens to accept authenticity is a question which may never be answered. What we can say is that, until now, modern man has not achieved that balance. Religion, as a meaningful political force, had long since passed its peak by the Enlightenment; no political state or system which has since come to power, certainly not any of those which claim to speak in the name of Marx, has been willing to live with the authentic self, much less to create an atmosphere in which the emergence of such a self was a real possibility; and no psychology or philosophy with which modern man has sought to clothe his nakedness can be said to have liberated the authentic self.

Professor Berman might have probed the problem of authenticity in some locale other than Paris and some century other than the 18th. One can argue that the problem is already visible in the literature of the ancient Greeks and Hebrews. But Berman's focus is, of necessity, on radical individualism as it creates and is created by modern society—and modern society is urban, alienated, skeptical, apocalyptic and hopeful. Then tensions that one discovers among so many of one's students today can, in large part, be attributed to their inability to reconcile being as an expression of individuality and being as a form of social communion. We have, justifiably enough, accused our students of anti-intellectualism, but this, too, reveals itself as a predominantly intellectual consciousness. When Professor Berman examines Montesquieu's *The Persian Letters*, he takes us carefully through "one of those rare works which contain within themselves the whole history of an epoch." And he forces us to recognize its contemporaneity, both for us and for our students. The conflict between individual energies liberated from the traditional strictures of society and the potential repressiveness of such liberated energies is demonstrated in a book that once seemed a minor bit of erotica; it can also be seen in the lives of the radical young.

But the long chapter devoted to *The Persian Letters* is actually a prelude to Berman's treatment of the in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

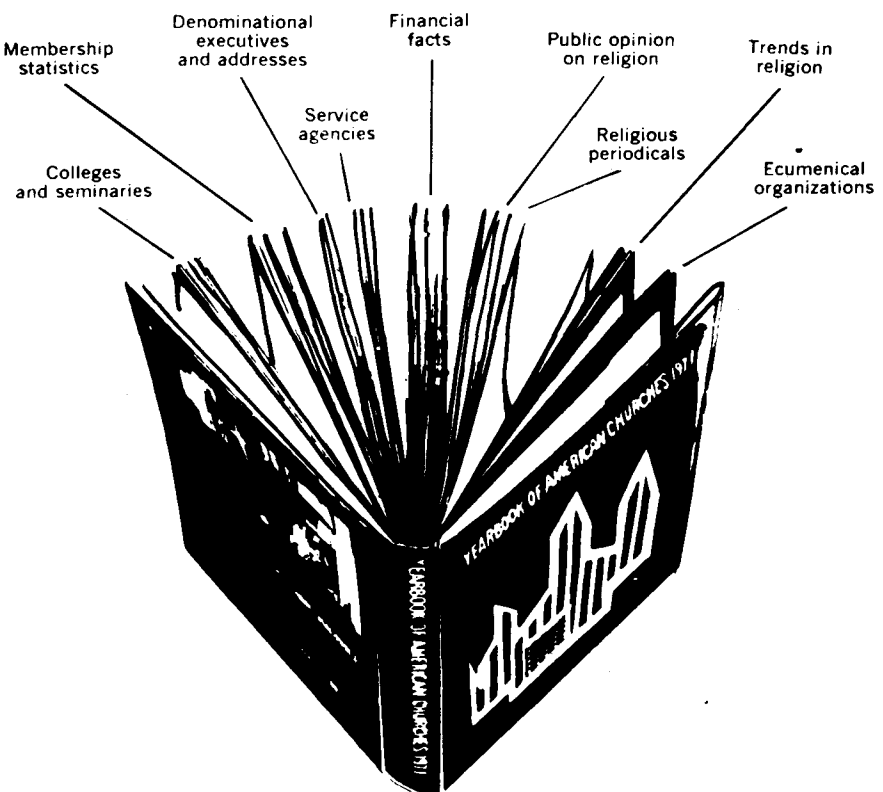
dividual who embodies the fundamental ambiguities in the mind of Western man: Rousseau. Rousseau assumes pivotal importance in Professor Berman's study, because in both his life and writings history dramatizes itself. He becomes for us the record of what man is and of what he both fears and yearns to become. The simplistic contrarieties of Blake, which give his poetry its immense energy, are, in Rousseau, crystallized to a cultural form—the essential cultural form, one is tempted to add, that we find in the record of Western cultural development since the Enlightenment. His is the harsh note of discord that will, among other things, make revolutionaries of the most conservative artists and will deny reason for emotional vitality while, at the very same time, it will insist that emotional vitality conform to the prerequisites of reason.

> It was only in the second generation of the Enlightenment, through Rousseau, that the search for authenticity came into its own. Rousseau gave it a personal immediacy and urgency that his age could not ignore; he forced his contemporaries to acknowledge that the self was a *problem* as pressing for them as it was for him. In forcing this problem to the surface of consciousness, moreover, he showed how repressive, how profoundly alien to the self the modern world really was. Throughout his life and works he explored the tensions between the self and the world with a depth, an intensity, an imaginative vision that no one has ever matched. Indeed, he carried the search for authenticity as far as it could go in a pre-revolutionary age.

In Rousseau, one begins to perceive the modern interrelationship between self and world. But in Rousseau, too, the ability to liberate the one ultimately becomes contingent upon the ability to circumvent the other. And here, one sees, Professor Berman has pointed to the problem of the radical young today. For the divisions in Rousseau are postulated by modern society. In order to create the just society and liberate the authentic self, life is politicized. But if that fact seems elementary, the demand for a politics that is to be both absolute and immediate in its revolutionary institutions is not at all elementary. We are not quite certain of what we can do with it, for if we scorn the arch-romanticism of such statements as, "You don't know what oppression is unless you've been born in Scarsdale," we cannot scorn the reality of the failure of authenticity. Once life becomes politicized, authentic individuality finds itself besieged. But in the effort to capture personal authenticity, it is necessary to politicize all life. The process seems endless and discouraging, for it denies authenticity's coming into being in the name of authenticity.

In the latter half of this brilliant book, one senses the author's growing suspicion that, in the long run, Rousseau may prove to be correct, and that it may be, as he believed, "most genuinely liberal to protect modern man from the fatal lure of this dream [authenticity], and from the inevitable bleakness of the morning after." And

The whole religious scene in one volume.



If this directory doesn't have it, you'll have to dig to get it!

Department of Publication Services $8.95 each postpaid
National Council of Churches
Box 301, Madison Square Station
New York, N.Y. 10010

Please send me ____ copies of the **1971 Yearbook of American Churches.** My check for $____ is enclosed.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

yet, the book ends on a note of rededication to the radical vision of society, that vision which has seen fit, in however crude and sometimes hysterical a fashion, to insist that liberation of the self must remain contiguous with liberation of society. The quest for authenticity continues, and while I suspect that I am far more skeptical of the possibilities of achieving the kind of social transformation that will lead to a society capable of encouraging "every man's sense of his own unique, irreducible self," I also recognize that, like the author of this excellent study, I have no choice but to join with the seekers after authenticity. And that uncomfortable but necessary reminder is just one of the reasons why I shall remain indebted to *The Politics of Authenticity.*

"HOW LITTLE ASTONISHMENT *has been expressed at the picture of today's China that is being filled in. Look at the photographs of these Mao-men, Mao-women, and Mao-children in their Mao-cities and Mao-villages, and read the accounts of their conduct and talk. This is a science-fiction world; these are robots, or what the sf writers call 'humanoids', not men and women.*"

For a free copy of NATIONAL REVIEW, write: Dept. I, 150 E. 35 Street, N. Y. 10016.

Classified

Music

● LEARN TO READ MUSIC in one evening! Amazing new book shows how. Only $3. Money-back guarantee. SHORE ENTERPRISE, Dept. C, 1965—18 Lafayette Ave., New York, N. Y. 10473.

Religious Educator

● RELIGIOUS EDUCATION DIRECTOR. Progressive parish wants a Christian leader. Salary to $13,000. Submit resume. William Campbell, 21 Mayling Court, Edison, N.J. 08817.

Art

● CARDS DESIGNED BY CORITA KENT and others. Available to shops. Brochure. BOTOLPH, 154 Newbury St., Boston, Mass. 02116.

Assistance Needed

● WOULD YOU HELP a new Benedictine Hermitage Foundation by sending only one dollar to be used for basic plumbing, electrical work, etc. We believe in poverty and simplicity but not debt. All donations will be acknowledged. Thank you and God bless you. BENEDICTINE HERMITAGE FOUNDATION, St. Mary's Priory, 633 Lafayette Ave., Mt. Vernon, N.Y. 10552.

Public Opinion

● BE A VIP, a Voter Insisting on Participation. Send your vote on ten issues to ALL congressmen. $1 How? Write EPOCH, Suite 520J, 1629 K St., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Classified Rates

Per word (single insertion) 50c
Per word, 3 times 48c
Per word, 7 times 45c
Per word, 13 times 42c

Twelve words minimum.

For box numbers at Commonweal add 50c per insertion.

Classified payable with order, monthly in advance for more than 3 times.

Commonweal
232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016

Amen: The Diary of Rabbi Martin Siegel

EDIT. MEL ZIEGLER

World, $6.95

ARTHUR A. COHEN

I've known many rabbis already. Some have been learned and distinguished; others have been mediocre and coarse; and still others have been sad and ridiculous. Rather like the cut of the human race. All kinds.

It doesn't take a sacrament to ordain a rabbi. There is, of course, the tradition of *s'michah*—the laying on of hands which, undoubtedly, in the Rabbinic Age was quasi-sacramental, but even then, it did not transmit the voice of God, nor even the voice of the Holy Spirit, but (as the rabbis indicated ironically) a mere *bat kol,* a voice of a voice of a voice. Knowledge and the honor of knowledge and the honor of men who possessed knowledge was at the heart of the rabbinic vocation. God made the universe with words and God spoke words and inscribed words and some men made their life the hearing of words and the forming of communities out of the spirit of the words they received.

It is very hard being a rabbi today. Harder still, I imagine, being a Reform Rabbi in Lawrence, Long Island like Martin Siegel. Rabbi Siegel is a remarkably decent, honest, and even noble man and undoubtedly a good rabbi, but he was made by a scarecrow culture and suffers from it. Frankly I wouldn't ever be a rabbi. I would be a priest a lot quicker. There are so many ways of ducking the difficult business of being human (and the requirement of being slightly superhuman) if you can pass along responsibility for confusion, dissatisfaction and unhappiness (as well as for stupidity and cowardice) to the millennial competence of the almighty organization.

That out no rabbi has, because unfortunately the Jewish community is too autonomous, too competitive, too arrogant itself to let the rabbi off the hook so easily. The rabbi is left, as Martin Siegel often is, with the wiped out feeling of being an over-worked service station attendant. But damn it, the man is remarkable. With all his self-consciousness, pretense, even snottiness and hostility, he knows what he's about, which is rebuilding a community. In that he is clearly in a great tradition. His theology is muddy, simplistic, cavalier, but it is viable. By this I mean he understands that a rabbi has to think publicly at least 50 times a year for about 35 minutes at a clip, that he has to take thoughtful stands on numerous issues, work in committee, support community action another 200 or more times a year. It's hard making quick moral decisions—no time to retire for consultative prayer, no leisure to piece out the universe. Theology has to be full of truth and instant; moral conduct has to be imaginative, rightheaded and instant; and there can be no tolerance given to paranoia, suspiciousness, mistrust, prejudice, for these little reminders of unconscious unease in Zion take too much time and debilitate. In other words, it's hard being a rabbi and a rabbi is regarded as a quintessential, normative Jew.

There is more to Rabbi Siegel's diary than the recitation of his defeats and triumphs, his conflicts with the cantor who runs a lecture bureau on the side (or sings the liturgy on the side), his negotiation of a new contract with the Temple board, his building of a swimming pool, his clear-headed deflation of

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

REVIEWERS

GERALD WEALES is professor of drama at the University of Pennsylvania. His latest book, *Clifford Odets: Playwright* (Bobbs-Merrill) has just appeared.

LEONARD KRIEGEL is a professor of English at City College of New York.

ARTHUR A. COHEN is completing a new novel, *The Mes-siah Is Uptown,* which will be published next spring.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his former Congressman, Allard Lowenstein, his risk-taking support of school decentralization, and opposition to the scare tactics which inflated black anti-Semitism to pogrom proportions.

These episodes—which recur as leitmotifs of ordinary espousal and conflict—are the backdrop before which the greater and more desperate issues of this man's life (and I guess my own, however different) are played: how to live telling truth about the highest and deepest possibilities of man.

Rabbi Siegel is concerned to strip away the illusions (sometimes he descends to flaying them off) which enable suburban Jews to sequester themselves behind their achievements, to employ God as the good grade-giver, the authenticator of all their trivia and venalities. By and large he succeeds. He really tries to make it all meaningful for himself and if he can bring it off for himself, he hopes, perhaps too trustingly, that he can bring it off for his community as well. He innovates liturgy, he plays fast (and often loose) with traditional sancta, he camps demi-god and prophet, but he never loses touch with himself. He's never nuts or a bore. And he is able to acknowledge tragedy and the failures implicit in tragedy, his own very considerable failures.

One Yiddish usage is very beautiful. Jews call a good, decent, honest man, a *mensch*. They call such a person, a *man*. To call somebody a *mensch* (not in locker room embrace or after an especially generous gift to the United Jewish Appeal) is really the greatest honor to be earned. Rabbi Martin Siegel is on the way.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 347*)

in spite of their choice in the interim.

For some of us, you who have left the official ministry were among the few to see the poor, the dispossessed, the lonely, the black, and the alienated, and in trying to call the church's attention to them, you alienated yourselves from the organized church. It seems to us that were Christ, the first priest, among us today he would say that in this confused, disenchanted world of ours (far different, far more complex and far more widespread than it was 2000 years ago) he would give voice to the fact that the priesthood need not be bounded and circumscribed to the extent that we know it, but that it must encompass different forms and different orientations so that all men might be attracted to and be made aware of him.

Don't give up . . . many of us need you and the hope that you can offer . . . the whole church needs you.

REGINA & RALPH WEISSERT

Children's Books

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: On behalf of the members of the Children's Book Council, I would like to express admiration for *Commonweal*'s continuing interest in children's books and in serving your readers through reviews and evaluations of children's literature. Parents need all the help they can in identifying new books for their children. *Commonweal* recognizes this fact very well.

JOHN DONOVAN

Commentary-NYR: Epilogue

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: I read with great interest the analysis of Mr. Peter Steinfels of the recent developments in *Commentary* magazine [May 21]. He attempts to account for the "conversion" of Mr. Podhoretz, the editor of *Commentary*. He considers various alternatives to explain this "strange" phenomenon. One possibility apparently escapes Mr. Steinfels. That is, that Podhoretz really believes that the counter-culture, the New Left and radical chic are really dangers to the democratic and humane values which undergird our civilization. Once you accept this hypothesis the behavior of Mr. Podhoretz is eminently reasonable. What is unreasonable is that intelligent people (including *Commonweal*) occasionally overlook this plain fact.

SEYMOUR SIEGEL

Sandwich, Mass.

To the Editors: I have just read Peter Steinfel's admirable article [May 21] on Norman Podhoretz' criticism of the NYR. I am doubly grateful for it since it has forced me to bring into focus an uneasiness I have been feeling for some time.

The *NYR* itself has begun to soften up a little and to move toward the position Podhoretz seems to want to stake out as his own. Thus he appears to be showing the anxiety of the enraged stickleback who finds another fish in his territory rather than the righteous wrath for which he is giving himself credit.

Nor does his title to the territory seem clear. It has been the stamping ground since the days of Theodore Roosevelt for a certain type of "liberal." This sort of liberal, moreover, has a tendency to advocate and put through minimum legal reforms which will keep the country in equilibrium without disturbing the comfort of those in power. It is not surprising, therefore, that it is from this group of liberals that the most earnest efforts have been made in

JESUIT HIGHER ACHIEVEMENT PROGRAM

OVER THE PAST six summers New York Jesuits have been helping more than 1600 boys who would not otherwise meet the challenge of high school and college, due to lack of family support, drug-infested neighborhoods and poverty.

Our time and schools are free in the summer but we need financial aid. The cost of books, other equipment and lunches must be obtained. In all it costs $180 to support one boy for the six-week session. Will you give a boy the opportunity to meet the challenge of his future? Whatever the amount of your gift it will assist a boy in reaching toward his full potential. Contributions may be made payable to:

JESUIT HIGHER ACHIEVEMENT PROGRAM
30 W. 16th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For New Subscribers Only—

17 Issues for $3

Plus COMMONWEAL PAPERS 4

(For gift subscriptions please write donor's name and address in margin.)

COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016

Send the next 17 issues, plus COMMONWEAL PAPERS 4, "The Church in the Year 2000," to:

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

☐ I prefer a regular one-year subscription, and the special issue, at $12.

7-9-71

the last years to head off the protest groups on the pretext that they might create antagonisms in middle America which would result in repression. . . .

The emotional heat they have generated has not been justified by the events of the last year. American political life, in spite of the hysteria evident at some points, has followed a course which shows that our basic institutions are still able to survive the shocks administered to them. We have got through a number of serious crises with our liberties intact although the margin of escape has been narrow and could easily vanish.

This is why I think the repressions recommended by a certain type of "liberal" just now are more dangerous than any others in the wide spectrum of American politics. There is a growing recognition that America has undergone a profound change since the Roosevelt era . . . a recognition that the change is from a set of guileless illusions to a more adult understanding that life is not so simple.

There is a nostalgia for that past, however, that shows itself in a desire to return to it. While I was watching the television version of Marya Mannes' *They*, for instance, I had the uneasy feeling that she had created a stereotype of the younger generation on which she could project her unwillingness to come to terms with any real criticism of a past of which she had fond memories. This sort of nostalgia, for which Podhoretz seems to be preparing a safe and even cozy haven, could be very dangerous. . . . We can't afford to use any of the energy we need to spend on reform either on nostalgia or the repression of criticisms we must have if we are to survive. We must, instead, get to work to prevent the explosions which occur when essential change is impeded or delayed too long.

HARRIET MAROT TAYLOR

Princeton, N.J.

To the Editors: That's a clever maneuver by Peter Steinfels to suggest [May 21] that because my disapproval of the *New York Review* is "thoroughly marbled with concessions" I managed to qualify my objections to the journal out of existence. But, to turn against him another ploy of his against Norman Podhoretz and myself, what would he have said if I had written an all-out attack without acknowledging that there were exceptions in the journal to the political line I criticized, or the merits of its scholarly and cultural coverage? It seems to me that, in his words, "there is a heads-I win, tails-you-lose aspect to such arguments."

Mr. Steinfels writes that many of my "observations and criticisms are well-taken." He adds a criticism of his own that I also find well-taken: that the *New York Review* has dealt with the racial issue too exclusively from a militant nationalist viewpoint. But had I said this, I would have felt obliged to add that Christopher Lasch and Theodore Draper had published excellent critiques of black nationalism in the journal and then, no doubt, Mr. Steinfels would have added this as another exhibit in his gallery of my "well, yes . . . buts" that he thinks undermine my argument.

Some other points: McDermott may have only contributed twice to the *NYR*, but the contribution I dissected was a "special supplement" of unusual length. I meant to imply no conspiracy in asking why the *NYR* had failed to review *Mr. Sammler's Planet* nearly a year after its publication. I was honestly curious as to why it had taken them so long to notice a book by the country's leading novelist. In suggesting that maybe the *NYR* didn't like Chomsky's articles on the Middle East, or that maybe he didn't submit them, Mr. Steinfels ignores my major point that the *NYR* has published *nothing* on the Middle Eastern crisis in the nearly four years since the Six-Day War (with the exception of one review in 1968 of two books on the diplomatic jockeying preceding the Six-Day War). Isn't this omission a bit remarkable?

I still think "anti-Americanism" is the best capsule characterization of the *NYR*'s bias. My unhappiness about the label, to which Mr. Steinfels refers, is only because it offered critics, including himself, an opportunity to posture on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the basis of the semantic resemblance of the term to "un-American." As I pointed out in a rejoinder to some of these critics in the March *Commentary*, intellectuals sympathetic to the New Left, some of them *NYR* contributors, have used "anti-American" in the same pejorative sense in which I used it. To attribute all, or most, international disasters to the machinations of the CIA; to regard all American institutions as equally guilty of and corrupted by "racism"; to see American history, going back to Cotton Mather in Chomsky's case, as simply a preparation for the Vietnam war, rather as writers on Germany have sought the seeds of Nazism in all German history (more understandably in view of the different scale of the disasters)—are these attitudes too "imprecise" to deserve being described as anti-American?

I never charged the *NYR* with responsibility for the excesses of the New Left. I merely said that they had ignored or apologized for these excesses, as Mr. Steinfels himself concedes, thus providing the wildest elements on the New Left with a cloak of respectability in the academic and intellectual communities.

No, I'm not altogether "uncritical of the new line *Commentary* has taken." I mentioned to Mr. Steinfels in my one telephone conversation with him that, as one who has some background in demography, I thought Mr. Podhoretz's strictures on the population control movement in the April issue went much too far. Perhaps this is what he has in mind in hinting that I perhaps feel differently "now," presumably as opposed to "then" when I wrote the article. But even "then" I did not support, as Mr. Steinfels says he does, Mr. Podhoretz's "WASP-baiting," being a thoroughly unapologetic WASP myself, though a Canadian one (they've been drawing a good deal of flak up there, too, lately). On the crucial matter of Stalinist and anti-Semitic—and anti-libertarian—tendencies on the New Left, however, I am in entire agreement with Mr. Podhoretz.

Which brings me to my last point: Mr. Steinfels' extension of my argument, about the return of a radicalism repressed (psychically) during the Cold War, to the suggestion of a return of the anti-Communism of the '50s in the "new" *Commentary*. Maybe there are people to whom his point applies. But let us not forget that the anti-Stalinism *of the '30s and '40s* was a courageous minority position which was much vilified at the time as "red-baiting," "objective pro-fascism," and assorted other labels close to and often indeed identical with the terms of abuse mustered today in the intellectual community against critics of the New Left and the counter-culture. Anyway, it is issues and not repressed or liberated impulses that count—which was my point against Susan Sontag—and on this I don't doubt that Mr. Steinfels and I are in agreement.

DENNIS H. WRONG

REPLY

I regret that Dennis Wrong feels the structure of my argument was a "maneuver"; I had meant it to be perfectly clear and above-board. I did *not* attempt to suggest his concessions to the *New York Review* qualified his objections out of existence. In fact, I specifically stated the opposite. But I listed those concessions to indicate what I feel are the true dimensions and real basis of Wrong's and Podhoretz's opposition to the *NYR*. I did *not* mean to call "tails-you-lose" in response to Mr. Wrong's acknowledgment of the *NYR's* merits. His scrupulousness is praiseworthy. What is unfortunate, in my opinion, is that he seemed to forget or dismiss these merits when, at the end of his article, he came to summing up the *NYR*'s overall contribution to American intellectual life.

As for the *NYR's* handling of the Middle Eastern crisis, I looked into the matter as best I could and satisfied myself that it represents at most an editorial failure (a phenomenon with which I am, alas, very familiar) and not the ideological lack of courage Mr. Wrong's article suggested. *My* point was that Wrong's content-analysis gave him no *entrée* to editorial decisions concerning articles, real or hypothetical, which never appeared in the *New York Review*.

I am sorry that Mr. Wrong does not agree with my doubts about the uses of the term "anti-American." I find his examples of "anti-American" attitudes too hyperbolic to fit any contributor to the *NYR*. And however mistaken may be the view that the seeds of Nazism are found in all German history, if Germans holding such a view were to be branded by other Germans as "anti-German," I would consider that a dangerous political ploy.

I did not say that the *NYR* "ignored or apologized" for the excesses of the New Left. My statement was a good deal more nuanced. On balance, I think that the inclusion of certain New Left tendencies into the mainstream of U.S. intellectual life, including some Mr. Wrong would characterize as "anti-American," has been beneficial, even when it risked providing the "wildest elements" with a "cloak of respectibility" to the undiscerning eye.

PETER STEINFELS

PEACE—how it can be taught. Summer workshop for high school teachers. Starts July 7. Limited registration. Write or call: Robert A. Pugsley, THE CHRISTOPHERS, 12 E. 48th St., New York, N. Y. 10017. Phone, 212-759-4050.

A Religious Pacifist Looks at Abortion

GORDON C. ZAHN's article from the May 28 COMMONWEAL has been reprinted to meet widespread demand. *Prices postpaid:*

1-9 copies, 25c per copy
10-99 copies, 10c per copy
100-499 copies, 8c per copy
500 or more, 6c per copy

Write or phone:

COMMONWEAL
232 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10016
212-MU 3-2042

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENTARY REPORTS

Commentary Reports are published by *Commentary* magazine for use by interested individuals, colleges, libraries, etc.

PRICES: fifty cents each (except where noted)
Twenty-five or more: – 20% discount
The quantity price applies whether the same or assorted reports are shipped to the same address.

Minimum order: $3.00

POSTAGE is prepaid on orders shipped via Parcel Post or third class mail. Please allow 21 days for normal delivery. For faster service add 75¢ for special handling charges.

Institutions can be billed.

THE CITY

- ☐ THE FAILURE OF URBAN RENEWAL: A Critique and Some Proposals by Herbert J. Gans
- ☐ P. S. 165 by Richard Schickel
- ☐ UP FROM APATHY – THE WOODLAWN EXPERIMENT by Charles E. Silberman
- ☐ POVERTY PROBLEMS by Daniel P. Moynihan
- ☐ THE NEW YORK SCHOOL CRISIS by Maurice J. Goldbloom
- ☐ THE BETRAYAL OF THE AMERICAN CITY by David Danzig & John Feild

WORLD AFFAIRS

- ☐ THE FUTURE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY by John Mander
- ☐ THE FUTURE OF CAPITALISM by Robert L. Heilbroner
- ☐ SOCIALISM AND THE FUTURE by Robert L. Heilbroner
- ☐ THE LEGACY OF CHE GUEVARA by Norman Gall
- ☐ "BONN IS NOT WEIMAR": Reflections on the Radical Right in Germany by Walter Laqueur

- ☐ IMPERIALISM by George Lichtheim
  A major study of the crucial problem of our time. Includes the history, theory, and analysis of Imperialism.
  60 pages
  Only a limited number of issues are available.
  Includes Study Guide $2.25

- ☐ COMMUNISM IN ASIA by Donald S. Zagoria
- ☐ THE ARAB REFUGEES: A Zionist View by Marie Syrkin
- ☐ THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE by Marjorie Housepian
- ☐ LATIN AMERICA: THE CHURCH MILITANT by Norman Gall

- ☐ THE DOMINICAN REVOLT. Theodore Draper. New 208-page paperback based on his Administration-shaking article in Commentary. $3.95

- ☐ FIVE YEARS OF CASTRO'S CUBA by Theodore Draper
- ☐ CHINA'S STRATEGY: A Critique by Donald S. Zagoria
- ☐ CHINESE VISIONS & AMERICAN POLICIES by Benjamin Schwartz

AMERICAN POLITICS

- ☐ THE QUESTION OF REPRESSION by Walter Goodman
- ☐ THE SHAPE OF AMERICAN POLITICS by Richard N. Goodwin
- ☐ IS ELECTORAL REFORM THE ANSWER? by Alexander M. Bickel
- ☐ THE DEMOCRATS AFTER 1968 by Penn Kemble
- ☐ COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY AMERICA by Robert L. Heilbroner
- ☐ THE FAILURE OF THE WARREN REPORT by Alexander M. Bickel
- ☐ THE NEW LEFT AND ITS LIMITS by Nathan Glazer
- ☐ WHO NEEDS THE LIBERALS? by Penn Kemble
- ☐ CONSERVATISM AFTER GOLDWATER by David Danzig
- ☐ BIG BUSINESS & THE DEMOCRATS by David T. Bazelon
- ☐ THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY by Alan F. Westin
- ☐ A GUIDE TO REAGAN COUNTRY: The Political Culture of Southern California by James Q. Wilson
- ☐ THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY A DEFECTIVE INSTITUTION? by Marcus Cunliffe

- ☐ NIXON, THE SENATE & THE WAR by N. Gordon Levin, Jr. 75 cents

INTERRELIGIOUS

- ☐ HANNAH ARENDT ON EICHMANN: A Study in the Perversity of Brilliance by Norman Podhoretz
- ☐ VATICAN II & THE JEWS by F. E. Carlus
- ☐ THE JEWS: HOW WE ARE by Milton Himmelfarb
- ☐ AMERICAN CATHOLICISM AFTER THE COUNCIL by Michael Novak
- ☐ CHURCH AND STATE: HOW HIGH A WALL? by Milton Himmelfarb
- ☐ THE TRIAL OF JESUS by Paul Winter
- ☐ TERRORISM & PREVENTIVE DETENTION: THE CASE OF ISRAEL by Alan M. Dershowitz

ISSUES OF RACE

- ☐ THE BLACK PANTHERS by Tom Milstein
- ☐ "BLACK POWER" AND COALITION POLITICS by Bayard Rustin
- ☐ THE PRESIDENT & THE NEGRO: THE MOMENT LOST by Daniel P. Moynihan
- ☐ IN DEFENSE OF "BLACK POWER" by David Danzig
- ☐ THE WATTS "MANIFESTO" & THE McCONE REPORT by Bayard Rustin
- ☐ MUTUAL AID AND THE NEGRO by John Slawson
- ☐ THE MEANING OF NEGRO STRATEGY by David Danzig
- ☐ FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS: THE FUTURE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT by Bayard Rustin
- ☐ THE NEGRO & THE NEW YORK SCHOOLS by Midge Decter
- ☐ THE LESSONS OF THE LONG HOT SUMMER by Bayard Rustin
- ☐ MY NEGRO PROBLEM – AND OURS by Norman Podhoretz

SOCIAL ISSUES

- ☐ THE NON-GENERATION GAP by S. M. Lipset & Earl Raab
- ☐ THE ORIGINS OF HUMAN BONDS by Selma Fraiberg
- ☐ THE LIBERATED WOMAN by Midge Decter
- ☐ THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF HERBERT MARCUSE by George Kateb
- ☐ STUDENT REVOLTS by Diana Trilling $1.00

- ☐ THE NEW YORK INTELLECTUALS: by Irving Howe

- ☐ YOUTH MOVEMENTS by Walter Laqueur
- ☐ THE POVERTY OF AFFLUENCE by Robert Lekachman

- ☐ QUACKERY IN THE CLASSROOM by Samuel McCracken
  A critical analysis of today's fashionable educational theorists, The Report exposes the weaknesses in the current demands for radical school reform.
  Includes Study Guide 75 cents

ORDER FORM

Quantity	TITLE	PRICE

Please use separate sheet of paper for additional Reports.

Sub Total _____
Less 20% on orders of 25 or more _____
Total _____

COMMENTARY REPORTS
165 E. 56 ST NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022 CO-1

Minimum order $3.00; institutions or companies can be billed; we pay shipping on prepaid orders.

FROM:
NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
_____ ZIP _____

☐ ENTER MY SUBSCRIPTION TO COMMENTARY MAGAZINE for one year, please.
☐ check attached for $10
☐ please bill me

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED